National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XIX. NO. 3. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1858. WHOLE NO. 939.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.
PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY.
AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, 138 Nassau St., New York,
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
107 North Fifth St., above Arch, Philadelphia.

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial concerns of the paper, should be addressed, "Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, New York."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "Publisher of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, New York."

RATE OF ADVERTISING, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

MR. EVERETT ON THE BROOKS OUTRAGE.

From The National Intelligencer, May 14.

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON: I see in a late number of *The Republic* an injurious paragraph devoted to this distinguished statesman and patriot. The following letter, addressed to a friend, in reference to certain strictures upon his course in regard to the unfortunate Brooks and Sumner difficulty, sufficiently refutes the charge insinuated in that paper. I am sure you will gladly find the large number of your readers by its publication. H.

MEDFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, October 31.

DEAR SIR: I have received your friendly letter of the 19th of September, enclosing a cutting from the Knoxville *Whig*, containing the card of Mr. Sneed. The subject revives painful recollections, but it remains to me a duty, and inspires with your request, to acquaint you with the facts of the case.

When the intelligence of the assault on Mr. Sumner, in the Senate of the United States, reached Boston, it produced an excitement in the public mind deeper and more dangerous than I have ever witnessed. It was the opinion of some persons that if a leader, daring and reckless enough, had presented himself, he might have raised any number of men to march on Washington. By reflecting men the effect was regarded as equally the result and the cause of the end"; the spark which was but too likely to kindle the train whose explosion would rend the Union. Letters from Washington informed us that the members had generally armed themselves; and the predictions of some of the most influential source had been fulfilled, and the crack of the revolver been heard all round the House of representatives, the event would have been inevitable.

Immediately on the receipt of the intelligence an indignation meeting was called in Faneuil Hall, which I was invited to attend. Not disposed to quit the retirement from political life caused by ill-health a year before—believing, also, that additional excitement was to be deprecated—I declined to attend the meeting. It was, however, attended and addressed by very sound, conservative men. In the course of the following week, having occasion to repeat my judgment "on the character of Washington," I received it with a few remarks on the recent occurrences, the object of which was to impart a more chastened and sober temper to the fiery indignation which pervaded the community. Those remarks were extensively published in the newspapers of the principal towns North and South. They are the same which are alluded to in the closing paragraph of Mr. Sneed's card. I enclose you a copy of them.

A day or two after the appearance of these remarks in the public prints, a young friend, after expressing his cordial approbation of them, requested me to subscribe to a testimonial proposed to be tendered to Mr. Sumner. He did not show me the paper, nor mention in whole or in part the terms in which it was to be expressed. On proposing that it would accord in spirit with my own remarks just alluded to, I felt it a duty, in order to avoid misconception in the present state of the public mind, to do. In reply to my request, he sent me the paper to read. The paper was sent up to me at a very early hour the next morning in my bedroom, where, from ill-health, I had passed a bad night, and was still under the influence of what I regarded as an anodyne. It was engrossed on a very stiff sheet, rolled up, the lower end outward. I unrolled it up to the names already subscribed; those which stood on the upper part were of judicious and esteemed persons; and without reading or seeing the caption I signed my name. This, of course, was a great indiscretion, but of a kind perhaps not unnatural under the circumstances of my illness. This is the paper given at length in Mr. Sneed's card.

As soon as I saw it the next day, in the public prints, I informed the young gentleman who had procured my signature that I could not have signed the paper had I read it as printed, which I was not; that I disliked and the terms in which it was expressed. I made the same statement to numerous friends and correspondents in different parts of the country. I furnished a memorandum to the town officer to the additional subscriptions, which I desired to be published when he should think it proper. I authorized two friends in the Senate of the United States to make the necessary explanation, should the subject be alluded to in that body, as I thought it possible might be; and as soon as Mr. Sumner's health was sufficiently restored to make it proper to do so, I wrote to him to the same effect.

Others who subscribed the paper did it, as I am informed, either without reading it at all or so hastily as not to be well aware of its character. When a meeting of the subscribers was called, it was agreed, partly, as I understood, for this, and in accordance with the views expressed of Mr. Sumner, to take no further steps in the premises, and to apply the sums subscribed to the relief of the sufferers in Kansas, which was accordingly done. This meeting was held at a time when I was absent at Newport, but I fully approved the course. I ought to add that I have not known that I have condemned from the outset, and still most decidedly condemn, the policy of the late Administration toward Kansas. I opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill in the Territorial Committee, of which I was a member. I voted against the amendment to the bill, by which the Missouri Compromise was repealed. I opposed the bill, to the best of my ability, in a speech delivered in the Senate on the 25th of February, 1854, of which I sent you a copy; and I should have voted against it on its passage (as I stated in my place at the next meeting of the Senate) had not severe illness compelled me, at half-past three o'clock in the morning, to leave the Senate chamber before the vote was taken. I assured my Southern political friends, when the bill was brought in, that it ought to be entitled a bill to "annihilate all conservative feeling in the non-slaveholding States."

With these views of the subject, though, as I trust, for reasons higher than any effect on party politics, I fully concurred in the main line of argument in Mr. Sumner's speech, I abstaining, however, habitually myself from all personalities in debate, and believing that they serve to irritate, and never to convince, I could not, of course, bestow my "unqualified approbation" on the manner in which he treated the subject, nor intentionally give my sanction to the violent and offensive language of the subscription paper alluded to, and inadvertently signed by me.

In conclusion, I think it would be a sadly unprofitable task to endeavor to trace the successive steps of this melancholy action and reaction of North and South upon each other, which has brought the country into its present dangerous position, where a few more steps forward is the path of mutual expatriation will be fatal to the Union. The ground on which I have endeavored to stand is well known—it is that of conciliation, in the spirit of the Constitution.

I certainly shall not be suspected of seeking apologies for the manner in which the existing sectional agitation is carried on at the North, one feature of which has been a most violent and unrelenting warfare against myself; and which is even now seeking to load me with obloquy for not dragging the name of Washington into the vortex of this sanctioned controversy. But truth compels me to say that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the subsequent events in Kansas, and the assault on Mr. Sumner, have done more than anything else—more than all other things put together—to furnish material and give effect to that agitation, and to paralyze all conservative resistance to it.

For the same reasons which have led me to furnish you with the foregoing explanation, you have my permission to make any use of it which you may think expedient.

I remain, dear sir, with friendly regard, yours, truly,
EDWARD EVERETT.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.—This body were in session during the day and evening yesterday. A charge of ten cents was made for admission, but about 600 persons were present last Thursday. Wendell Phillips made a long speech on the general subject. He showed himself most distinctly to be a thorough-going infidel, and it was evident from the reception his sentiments met that many of his audience were attracted by curiosity, and were shocked to hear his ribald statements. We have been accustomed to consider Mr. Phillips as a man of genius, but he indulged in statements so barefaced and sophistries so puerile that any sensible child could have seen their absurdity. It was evident, also, that he spoke from a love of speaking, and enjoyed exceedingly hearing himself talk.—*Journal of Commerce.*

INDIGNATION MEETING.

THE Church of the Puritans in this city was crowded last Thursday with an audience eager to join in the denunciations of the American Tract Society, on account of its recent glorious triumph. As we sat in the side of the pulpit and surveyed the assembly, we could not see one layman whom we had ever seen before—not one. Of the hundreds and thousands of our fellow-citizens, whom we have been wont to meet for these many years in the great gathering in behalf of Missionary, Bible and Tract Societies, and whose faces have become familiar—of the scores of distinguished men who are foremost in every noble work of Christian charity, and whose opinion in this community carries weight with it, and whose presence gives dignity to every cause they support—of all these, there was not one whom we could recognize. We say nothing against the respectability of the gentlemen who composed meeting, but we state a fact from which those at a distance may infer that the indignant gentlemen were not the men on whom any good cause must exclusively rely. In the words of the Rev. Dr. Cheever, Thompson, Rev. Messrs. Clark, of Brooklyn, and Dennison. After prayer by Mr. Clark, Dr. Cheever read the 13th chapter of Ezekiel, in which "lying prophets" are denounced, and, as he read, he applied the words to the brethren of the Tract Society, to the amazement of Dr. Tyng and many of the audience. Dr. Cheever then read a very smart speech, an hour long, in which he cursed the Tract Society in the same tone and spirit and with the same effect with which, from the pulpit, he cursed the Supreme Court. It was full of wit and wickedness, gall and bitterness, and of course was received with unbounded applause by the assembly, stamping of feet, clapping of hands, and peals of laughter, making the house and uproar in the church than was made during the entire day of the great session of the Tract Society.

He took ground boldly against the action of 1857, denounced the resolutions moved by his brother brother Thompson, as utterly inadequate and unsatisfactorious, and he also denounced the Society for not affirming the same resolutions again! He declared that unless they did so it was not to be condemned as such, out and out, the Tract Society has nothing to do with it, and only because it is the greatest and-widest spread of all sins would he insist on the Society attacking it. He denounced the Society's present course to that of a dealer in charts, who should sell to a captain a chart out of which was erased a certain reef of rocks on which he would be likely to be wrecked. "Now," said this eminently religious preacher, Dr. Cheever, "would it be any comfort to this captain that he went down, that he quoted Baxter's Saint's Rest in his pocket?" This was received with tumultuous applause. It was *such* a good hit! The pious but "indignant" people were delighted—and they had a right to be. The additional charge to charge the members of the Society with "lying," and the applause and the pews responded to the bitterest of his invective—it was the very thing they wanted.

Dr. Tyng followed, but in a more moderate, but not less ultra, speech; his language was more becoming a Christian and a gentleman; he did not charge the Committee with lying, but his doctrine as to the duty of the Society was as extravagant and unscriptural as Cheever's. John Jay, Esq., Hamilton Wilkes, and others followed the line of Tract Meeting. He was evidently not at home in the pulpit. His memory failed him and he made statements flatly in contradiction of the minutes. He said the Society *rejected* the offer of the Bible, which is a statement which all knows, and Dr. Cheever who made the same statement knows, is not correct; the Society *laid Jay's motion on the table*, because it did not desire to consider the subject. Dr. Thompson has addressed to his constituents the first second edition of his "Sambo and Tony" speech, but making no reply to the attack which Cheever made upon his resolutions of 1857. Then Dr. Tyng was called on and, being a right-down fire-and-brimstone Episcopal minister in a Puritan pulpit at an abolition meeting. He threw himself, soul and body, into the movement against the Tract Society, took no exception to the most extravagant assertions made by other repeatedly inhaled as an anodyne. It was engrossed on a very stiff sheet, rolled up, the lower end outward. I unrolled it up to the names already subscribed; those which stood on the upper part were of judicious and esteemed persons; and without reading or seeing the caption I signed my name. This, of course, was a great indiscretion, but of a kind perhaps not unnatural under the circumstances of my illness. This is the paper given at length in Mr. Sneed's card.

As soon as I saw it the next day, in the public prints, I informed the young gentleman who had procured my signature that I could not have signed the paper had I read it as printed, which I was not; that I disliked and the terms in which it was expressed. I made the same statement to numerous friends and correspondents in different parts of the country. I furnished a memorandum to the town officer to the additional subscriptions, which I desired to be published when he should think it proper. I authorized two friends in the Senate of the United States to make the necessary explanation, should the subject be alluded to in that body, as I thought it possible might be; and as soon as Mr. Sumner's health was sufficiently restored to make it proper to do so, I wrote to him to the same effect.

Others who subscribed the paper did it, as I am informed, either without reading it at all or so hastily as not to be well aware of its character. When a meeting of the subscribers was called, it was agreed, partly, as I understood, for this, and in accordance with the views expressed of Mr. Sumner, to take no further steps in the premises, and to apply the sums subscribed to the relief of the sufferers in Kansas, which was accordingly done. This meeting was held at a time when I was absent at Newport, but I fully approved the course. I ought to add that I have not known that I have condemned from the outset, and still most decidedly condemn, the policy of the late Administration toward Kansas. I opposed the Kansas-Nebraska bill in the Territorial Committee, of which I was a member. I voted against the amendment to the bill, by which the Missouri Compromise was repealed. I opposed the bill, to the best of my ability, in a speech delivered in the Senate on the 25th of February, 1854, of which I sent you a copy; and I should have voted against it on its passage (as I stated in my place at the next meeting of the Senate) had not severe illness compelled me, at half-past three o'clock in the morning, to leave the Senate chamber before the vote was taken. I assured my Southern political friends, when the bill was brought in, that it ought to be entitled a bill to "annihilate all conservative feeling in the non-slaveholding States."

With these views of the subject, though, as I trust, for reasons higher than any effect on party politics, I fully concurred in the main line of argument in Mr. Sumner's speech, I abstaining, however, habitually myself from all personalities in debate, and believing that they serve to irritate, and never to convince, I could not, of course, bestow my "unqualified approbation" on the manner in which he treated the subject, nor intentionally give my sanction to the violent and offensive language of the subscription paper alluded to, and inadvertently signed by me.

In conclusion, I think it would be a sadly unprofitable task to endeavor to trace the successive steps of this melancholy action and reaction of North and South upon each other, which has brought the country into its present dangerous position, where a few more steps forward is the path of mutual expatriation will be fatal to the Union. The ground on which I have endeavored to stand is well known—it is that of conciliation, in the spirit of the Constitution.

I certainly shall not be suspected of seeking apologies for the manner in which the existing sectional agitation is carried on at the North, one feature of which has been a most violent and unrelenting warfare against myself; and which is even now seeking to load me with obloquy for not dragging the name of Washington into the vortex of this sanctioned controversy. But truth compels me to say that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the subsequent events in Kansas, and the assault on Mr. Sumner, have done more than anything else—more than all other things put together—to furnish material and give effect to that agitation, and to paralyze all conservative resistance to it.

For the same reasons which have led me to furnish you with the foregoing explanation, you have my permission to make any use of it which you may think expedient.

I remain, dear sir, with friendly regard, yours, truly,
EDWARD EVERETT.

INDIGNATION MEETING.

THE Church of the Puritans in this city was crowded last Thursday with an audience eager to join in the denunciations of the American Tract Society, on account of its recent glorious triumph. As we sat in the side of the pulpit and surveyed the assembly, we could not see one layman whom we had ever seen before—not one. Of the hundreds and thousands of our fellow-citizens, whom we have been wont to meet for these many years in the great gathering in behalf of Missionary, Bible and Tract Societies, and whose faces have become familiar—of the scores of distinguished men who are foremost in every noble work of Christian charity, and whose opinion in this community carries weight with it, and whose presence gives dignity to every cause they support—of all these, there was not one whom we could recognize. We say nothing against the respectability of the gentlemen who composed meeting, but we state a fact from which those at a distance may infer that the indignant gentlemen were not the men on whom any good cause must exclusively rely. In the words of the Rev. Dr. Cheever, Thompson, Rev. Messrs. Clark, of Brooklyn, and Dennison. After prayer by Mr. Clark, Dr. Cheever read the 13th chapter of Ezekiel, in which "lying prophets" are denounced, and, as he read, he applied the words to the brethren of the Tract Society, to the amazement of Dr. Tyng and many of the audience. Dr. Cheever then read a very smart speech, an hour long, in which he cursed the Tract Society in the same tone and spirit and with the same effect with which, from the pulpit, he cursed the Supreme Court. It was full of wit and wickedness, gall and bitterness, and of course was received with unbounded applause by the assembly, stamping of feet, clapping of hands, and peals of laughter, making the house and uproar in the church than was made during the entire day of the great session of the Tract Society.

He took ground boldly against the action of 1857, denounced the resolutions moved by his brother brother Thompson, as utterly inadequate and unsatisfactorious, and he also denounced the Society for not affirming the same resolutions again! He declared that unless they did so it was not to be condemned as such, out and out, the Tract Society has nothing to do with it, and only because it is the greatest and-widest spread of all sins would he insist on the Society attacking it. He denounced the Society's present course to that of a dealer in charts, who should sell to a captain a chart out of which was erased a certain reef of rocks on which he would be likely to be wrecked. "Now," said this eminently religious preacher, Dr. Cheever, "would it be any comfort to this captain that he went down, that he quoted Baxter's Saint's Rest in his pocket?" This was received with tumultuous applause. It was *such* a good hit! The pious but "indignant" people were delighted—and they had a right to be. The additional charge to charge the members of the Society with "lying," and the applause and the pews responded to the bitterest of his invective—it was the very thing they wanted.

Dr. Tyng followed, but in a more moderate, but not less ultra, speech; his language was more becoming a Christian and a gentleman; he did not charge the Committee with lying, but his doctrine as to the duty of the Society was as extravagant and unscriptural as Cheever's. John Jay, Esq., Hamilton Wilkes, and others followed the line of Tract Meeting. He was evidently not at home in the pulpit. His memory failed him and he made statements flatly in contradiction of the minutes. He said the Society *rejected* the offer of the Bible, which is a statement which all knows, and Dr. Cheever who made the same statement knows, is not correct; the Society *laid Jay's motion on the table*, because it did not desire to consider the subject. Dr. Thompson has addressed to his constituents the first second edition of his "Sambo and Tony" speech, but making no reply to the attack which Cheever made upon his resolutions of 1857. Then Dr. Tyng was called on and, being a right-down fire-and-brimstone Episcopal minister in a Puritan pulpit at an abolition meeting. He threw himself, soul and body, into the movement against the Tract Society, took no exception to the most extravagant assertions made by other speakers, and he declared that the Society was compelled to go forward in obedience to the action of 1857.

Thus closed the great Indignation Meeting. It had no one single feature of good. It was of great significance as showing the thoroughly abolition and political character of the Anti-Tract Society movement. Cheever did not shrink from giving it as one of the reasons of his opposition that the Society, whose publications, would give support to the party that support the Kansas outrages, the Lecompton swindle, and the Dred Scott decision! There is no doubt whatever that it was the purpose of Cheever, and the politicians who sustained him, to put the control of the Society to make it subservient to their ends. The stand which he and his opponents in this meeting have now taken will probably open the eyes of some of the moderate and more judicious men who acted with them at the Tract meeting. The lines will now be distinctly drawn. Those who are willing to take the scriptural and constitutional ground will support the Society; those who wish to make the Society an engine of abolition and politics will follow the lead of Cheever and *The Independent*.—*N. Y. Observer.*

MORAL OF THE RESULT.

IT is impossible to over-estimate the value of the recent action of the American Tract Society. It is an index of the religious and moral sentiment of the North, too palpable to be mistaken. We learn from the result—

1. The weakness of the abolition party. In the minority were scores of good men who are not. Abolitionism is not the spirit of the word. But all the Abolitionists were present whom *The Independent*, *The Tribune*, and all other political, abolition journals in the country could press to the meeting. Private letters had been sent to bring in appeals, and a circular had been sent to bring in appeals from here, and what was the effect? Of 600 life-directors present, 52 voted as *The Independent* had commanded! What a pitiful show for the action of the Rev. Josiah Adams in the first test of the abolition strength. That party polled nearly one vote in eight!!

2. We learn the strength of the *conservative* party of the North. This meeting of 1,400 men was made up of Christian citizens from every part of the country contributing to the Tract Society. *The Independent* has been asserting that a vast majority of these members were in favor of anti-slavery action. It besought the Society to meet and say so. It rallied all its forces for this single purpose, and said the committee to act. *The Observer* called on the conservative men to assemble and prevent it. But we knew that conservatives are slow, and radicals are fast. We feared our friends would not come out. But the Society met! 1,400 men, all members for life or directors; not the masses, but the life men, representative men; not drilled in a caucus sitting two days previous, appointing leaders and preparing resolutions and other expedients to control the meeting, but met in faith, and prayer, and holy purpose, to stand up for the truth and the gospel for the whole country. Of this 1,400 men, at least 1,200 men were CONSERVATIVES; men who would allow no bow the knee to the dictation of modern Abolitionists; bow the knee to the dictation of modern Abolitionists; bow the knee to this *Independent* school of morals and manners in righteous abhorrence. If, in a meeting assembled as this was—all the effort to get men there being made by the Abolitionists—composed as this was of religious men who are deeply engaged in benevolent movements, and have clear views on the relations of slavery—if, in such a meeting, more than eight out of every ten men are found not doing any good by their anti-Christian spirit and measures. The conservative party will sustain the Tract Society in publishing the whole Gospel, equally the Tract Society in publishing the whole Gospel, equally for the North and the South; but it will never consent that the North shall be denied the publication of tracts that make sin worse at the South than at the North. This is now distinctly understood. We say here to reaffirm it every year, and we will do so, until the last vestiges of the "higher law" heresy has been expurgated from the Church of the North. If the Gospel is to be made triumphant over every form of moral evil, it must be given to all men in its simplicity and purity, as the Tract Society has it, and not as *The Independent* would have it administered.

4. No man must infer that there is any increase of pro-slavery sentiment at the North. If the private sentiments of the great meeting had been expressed on this subject, of the great meeting had been expressed on this subject, they would have been almost unanimous against the system of slavery. But the members of the Society are not bound to act on the basis of dealing with it; and the agreed as to the best mode of dealing with it; and the conservative party believe that the Christians of the South will do their duty more efficiently without than with interference. Therefore, they wish to let vexed questions alone, and preach the word in which all agree.

5. The Tract Society is safe. It is now proved that if we reckon with abolitionists, they will not number as many as one of the five or six denominations of Christians represented in the Society. They do not constitute one-half of the Congregationalists! While the Presbyterians (Old School and New School), the Episcopalians, the Baptists, the Reformed Dutch, the Lutheran, and other bodies, with here and there a few individual exceptions, are firmly attached to the Society on its present scriptural and constitutional platform.—*N. Y. Observer.*

NO CONTRIBUTIONS AND NO SECESSION.

THIS *The Independent* unblushingly puts forth, in capitals, as the motto for those who will unite with it in its war on the American Tract Society. The spirit that dictates such a policy is unworthy of a Christian age or a Christian land. It betrays a malignity that has no fitting place even in this wicked world.

A great religious society is spreading far and wide the principles of the Gospel, both at home and abroad. Some of the best men that ever lived, the entire Word of God, and millions of pure and pointed tracts, turning thousands to righteousness. It is also true that there are many religious doctrines and many false principles discussed in pages circulated by a Society composed of many—of many minds. These it agrees to let alone and to publish only what all unite in believing and loving. This includes the whole New Testament, all that Christ has left for us, all that the apostles taught us; this includes all the instructions requisite to lead men to repentance and to heaven. But *The Independent* says, if you will not publish certain tracts on certain subjects which we think require attention, you shall have no funds from us; and we will do all in our power to prevent others from giving. We will cripple your ability to do any good if you will not do good in our way! We will not allow you to cast out devils unless you will follow us! We will stick by and make trouble, but we will not *give!*

Now, we ask, in all sincerity, if this is not a wicked spirit? Is it not a very wicked spirit? But is it not more wicked when displayed by men who claim to be just "achieved a great moral victory" in the Society?—*N. Y. Observer.*

MEMBERS FOR LIFE.— * * It is evidently of the first and highest importance that men of moral and reliable principles be made life-members and life-directors of these institutions. The Bible Society and the Tract Society have both been saved from destruction, during the past year, mainly by the unpledged action of conservative men in their boards of trust. This power must be perpetuated and increased. Every man who contributes to the funds of either of these institutions should insist that his money be applied to carry on a sound conservative, reliable man, who will be able also to attend to the resulting duties, a member or director for life. Many gentlemen give a hundred, others five hundred, others a thousand dollars, or more, every year, to these institutions. Let them hereafter take special care to make this money a perpetual source of strength to the society, by securing the support of judicious and able men, who will not sneer at hard, and every emergency. *We hope a thousand male life-members will be made in the Tract Society and two or three hundred life-directors, in this city and vicinity, during the coming year.* For this object we hope your money anonymously into a church collection, but that you will not allow any objection to which you wish your funds to be applied. By so doing, you will accomplish all that you can by merely giving to the Society, and you will strengthen the hands of its officers by bringing around them a larger, firmer and more earnest corps of right men.—*N. Y. Observer.*

SUMNER IN SEARCH OF HEALTH.—The New York *Evening Post* publishes a letter which the Hon. Charles Sumner has addressed to his constituents on the eve of departure for Europe, "in search of health." The laudable gentleman indulges in a touching allusion to his chastisement and laments his inability to discharge the duties of his office. Whenever he visits the Senate chamber, the spectre of the lamented Brooks will haunt his imagination and paralyze his energies. Poor fellow! would have been better off if he had refrained from associations which oppress and overpower his feeble nature.—*The South.*

Selections.

A CAPTURED AMERICAN SLAVER—VISIT TO THE DISMANTLED SHIP.

Correspondence of The Journal of Commerce.

U. S. FRIGATE POWHATAN, }
JAMESTOWN, ST. HELENA, Feb. 1, 1858. }

I HAVE just witnessed a sight, which may my eyes never behold again—A SLAVER! I climbed up its side; I walked its decks; I went into the hold; I sat down upon the planks where human beings had been packed before, but manacled and fettered; and where they had sighed, sickened, and many had died, and then been thrown into the deep, without prayer, without coffin, and without shroud, just as dogs, and cats, and rats are cast into the deep. But all was silent now; not a living form was seen; not a sigh was heard; not a tear was shed; while fancy, left free to do its work, filled the slave-deck with groans, and shrieks, and agony. Here and there I picked up a rude article of wood, whittled into some shape like a comb or spoon by the wretched prisoners, or a piece of their manacles and chains, or a tool of steel or iron used in fastening and remaking their manacles and fetters; while the whole scene seemed to be made present and living by the fragment of a *shell* which had been fired into the slaver by the British armed steamer which captured it. I walked, and sat, and mused, and then rose, and walked, and mused again, unable to realize where I was, and what I saw. I had read of slavers, and the middle passage, in my boyhood; the verses of Cowper and Montgomery on the middle passage, I had read, and were burnt into my memory, and many other things which rose now for scenes of imagined grief. But here was the reality! I was standing in the midst of all its horrors. It was no phantom I saw: the infernal reality was before me, living, moving, palpable. I felt it as I touched it; I stood on it; I looked into its pit of it; the blackness of darkness; and more truly than Jonah "from the belly of hell cried unto the Lord."

For days I had gazed upon this strange-looking craft, which was anchored at some distance from us and all the vessels, wondering what it could be; for, though evidently new, and well constructed, and in good condition, all the masts were taken down, the rudder was gone, not a rope or spar was left, nor was there a sail on board, as if prepared to command it or have any interest in the ship. Gloom and silence reigned around it. All the vessels in the harbor seemed to shun it as a plague-spot, and at a distance; and when the boats of the various nations chored at a distance; and when the boats of the various nations passed it, not the masses, but the life men, representative men; not drilled in a caucus sitting two days previous, appointing leaders and preparing resolutions and other expedients to control the meeting, but met in faith, and prayer, and holy purpose, to stand up for the truth and the gospel for the whole country. Of this 1,400 men, at least 1,200 men were CONSERVATIVES; men who would allow no bow the knee to the dictation of modern Abolitionists; bow the knee to this *Independent* school of morals and manners in righteous abhorrence. If, in a meeting assembled as this was—all the effort to get men there being made by the Abolitionists—composed as this was of religious men who are deeply engaged in benevolent movements, and have clear views on the relations of slavery—if, in such a meeting, more than eight out of every ten men are found not doing any good by their anti-Christian spirit and measures. The conservative party will sustain the Tract Society in publishing the whole Gospel, equally for the North and the South; but it will never consent that the North shall be denied the publication of tracts that make sin worse at the South than at the North. This is now distinctly understood. We say here to reaffirm it every year, and we will do so, until the last vestiges of the "higher law" heresy has been expurgated from the Church of the North. If the Gospel is to be made triumphant over every form of moral evil, it must be given to all men in its simplicity and purity, as the Tract Society has it, and not as *The Independent* would have it administered.

4. No man must infer that there is any increase of pro-slavery sentiment at the North. If the private sentiments of the great meeting had been expressed on this subject, of the great meeting had been expressed on this subject, they would have been almost unanimous against the system of slavery. But the members of the Society are not bound to act on the basis of dealing with it; and the agreed as to the best mode of dealing with it; and the conservative party believe that the Christians of the South will do their duty more efficiently without than with interference. Therefore, they wish to let vexed

or who had sickened and died there; and I hurried up from this *inferno* which men had built for their unoffending fellows; I blush to repeat it, which *Americans* had built, which *Puritan Connecticut* had built. The cabin for the captain and officers of the slaver was built on the poop of the ship, and was quite neat and commodious, nor were there wanting evidences of good living, and even luxurious fare, while the music, such as it was, came up from beneath, from the slave deck, through the iron grating of the hatchway, to enliven their carnivals.

To locate *six hundred and fifty Africans* within the space afforded by the slave deck of so small a vessel required the most ingenious compression and packing possible with life; and had not so large a portion been mere children, they could not have been stowed away. I was told the following method was employed to economize space. The Africans were placed in rows, face to face, lengthwise of the deck, and each one running one leg between the legs of the one sitting opposite. Another row was placed back to back against the exterior row first seated, and thus the whole deck was arranged a mass of living human flesh. To keep them still and powerless, and prevent insurrection, a ring was put on one ancle, to which an iron bar was attached which reached up to the deck, at which the manacles were fastened which were put on their wrists. Thus situated, ever facing row, and legs interlaced with legs, a long iron bar ran along over the heads of each row, to which they were attached which formed the fact. Thus nearly all motion of the body and exercise of the limbs was impossible, men in the stocks having as much liberty as they had, with all the advantages of light and air. Even for a day, such a position would be painful and almost intolerable; what then a passage from continent to continent over the broad Atlantic, amidst storms, and calms, and suffocation, and occupying often *sixty* days and more!

Occasionally the slaves are taken on deck in gangs, where they may breathe the pure air a short time, and where they are washed by having buckets of salt water thrown upon them, their fetters and manacles yet remaining on them, and the salt water washing the sores and raw flesh which their sitting position and their fetters, their pressing against each other, together with the galling irons, have made. Both men and women are either entirely naked or else have hardly the equal of a fig-leaf apron for their protection. The stench and filth are necessarily horrible and indescribable, which a stable or a sty can hardly exceed, and seldom equal. Such *accommodations* had been provided by *Americans*, citizens of the *Charter Oak* State, for manufacturing men, women and children, on the distant coasts of Africa. It is not strange that a frightful mortality soon broke out, which ended the woes of many, and would have done of all, but for the providential capture.

PROGRESS OF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

Correspondence of The Independence Belge.

ST. PETERSBURG, April 21, 1858.

THE following is a brief abstract of the Imperial ukase containing the measures to be adopted by the Committees of Emancipation.

The ukase declares, in the first place, that it was agreed upon in the presence of the Emperor, in Grand Committee, the Grand Duke Constantine assisting, as usual. It then sets forth the object of the proceedings of the Committees appointed by the Governments, traces their progress, and enjoins them to conclude in six months, when the regulations will be submitted to the approval of the Emperor, to be put immediately into execution.

The ukase then in the same recognizes the necessity of taking into consideration, in the regulations of the provinces, the various modifying local circumstances, states that there is need of a normal regulation which shall serve as a general basis. This normal regulation is composed of ten chapters, of which the following are the titles:

1. Obligatory transitional condition of the peasant.
2. Definitive state condition.
3. Territorial rights of proprietors.
4. Regulation concerning the inclosures of peasants.
5. Principles to follow in the redemption.
6. Rights and duties of the *dvorovi* (old servants and their families, who live in the master's house without any specified service).
7. Rights and duties of the *dvorovi* (old servants and their families, who live in the master's house without any specified service).
8. Constitution of the new communities.
9. The rights of proprietors, and the connection of the serfs with their peasants.
10. Manner and means of enforcing this regulation.

Each of these articles is then separately explained. We can draw from them the general idea that serfdom is forever abolished in the Empire of Russia, and can never again be established there under any form whatever. The condition of the peasants, when the regulations are once confirmed, will be on a par with that of the other classes of citizens. The main point of emancipated peasants will be changed to peasants by contract; that is, they treat freely and at their own pleasure with the proprietors concerning the conditions of their work. But until the confirmation of definite regulations they must be made to continue what they are, must be submissive, and cannot leave the land. Then the ukase orders a regulation to be prepared, according to which the peasants can change their condition so as to enter, for instance, into the class of citizens. This regulation, it must in every case be short of this transition state preceding their trial emancipation—is to be determined.

And finally, the Imperial ukase peremptorily commands that there be inserted in the new regulations a clause compelling the proprietors to cede to their serfs the inclosures which they occupy, together with their houses, beside a certain quantity of cultivable land, greater or smaller according to circumstances.

Correspondence of The Vienna Wanderer.

RUSSIAN FRONTIER, April 30, 1858.

It is estimated that in 1851 there were 62,000,000 serfs, exclusive of those belonging to the Crown, in the 68,000,000 inhabitants of Russia. The distribution of the serfs in the different governments is as follows:

Kiev, 511,554;	Podolia, 472,553; Tools, 403,649;
Ekazan, 291,419;	Simbirsk, 376,038; Orel, 374,631;
Tver, 362,277;	Tambov, 362,142; Volhynia, 362,092;
Koorsk, 359,968;	Nischni Novgore, 341,191; Viadimir,
329,765;	Poltava, 325,753; Saratov, 322,098; Kalooga,
307,747;	Penza, 306,609; Kostroma, 305,156;
Minsk, 288,355;	Mobilev, 286,275; Tchernigov, 281,-
844;	Pecs, 264,967; Perm, 246,581; Vorvneak, 243,-
560;	Kharkov, 223,140; Witebsk, 216,752; Simbirsk,
212,869;	Novgorod, 198,491; Pskov, 174,633;

In the last number of the journal of the Minister of the Interior, there is a question made of the government of proceedings in several Governments by the Committees appointed to arrange the emancipation of the serfs. St. Petersburg made the beginning January 26; Wilna and Nishni Novgorod followed on the 30th and 31st of January, and Grodno and Kovno on the 10th and 18th of March. The discussion of the details was immediately commenced, but nothing is yet published concerning it. The measures that, since the official career of Count Schouvalof, have been adopted against master-workmen who neglect their apprentices are attended with the best results. The apprentices have sometimes left the shops in a body and carried their complaints to the police office, and, if found to be well-grounded, the employers have been punished by fines, censure and exposure.

Correspondence of The Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung.

POLISH FRONTIER, May 6, 1858.

* * * * The St. Petersburg Cabinet has at length discovered that the abolishment of serfdom and the intended reorganization of the relations of the peasantry cannot be effected by the regulations hitherto employed, since the different communities of nobles have brought to the most different and irreconcilable plans and propositions. A central committee has accordingly been appointed, which will form a definite plan to hold good over the entire Empire. The principles on which it is to be formed have already been announced.

From The Correspondence Havas.

ST. PETERSBURG, May 3, 1858.

It is generally admitted that a certain agitation pervades all classes of society; and, in fact, the reforms that are on foot touch everybody more or less. These reforms naturally meet with occasional opposition, but the Emperor does not permit himself to be turned from his end, and moreover he finds powerful aid not only in public opinion, but also in some of his advisers.

The Grand Duke Constantine, particularly, proves, by the numerous improvements he introduces in the Navy, that he is a friend to all reforms. He has recently given still another proof of this in sending a diamond ring to M. Lenow, author of the comedy, "There are still Good People in the World," in which the corruption of public officers is sharply handled, and which has produced a great sensation.

The Governor-General of Wilna, Kovno and Grodno, has arrived here, to announce to the Government the proceedings of the Committee of Nobles, and to give the details concerning the troubles of Tawrezen. These troubles have been much exaggerated.

GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

STAND up! true-hearted man!
Stand till the work is done.
The foremost soldier in the fight,
The bondman's champion!

I hear thy burning words
Ring manfully and fond;
They thrill me like a trumpet's blast
From out a battle-field.

They come with weight and power,
In prophet utterance bold;
They mind me of the sturdy hearts
And golden days of old.

In high and nervous strength
Above the airy throng they soar,
Nor greet thee with a cheer.

I know thy purpose pure;
Thy path for thee is made;
Thy work is for the good of men,
And what the Lord hath said.

This, then, be thy reward,
The task of duty done,
The love for man, the fear of God,
And triumph of His Son.

Great heart and stalwart arm,
Strike home with all your might!
Spare not in trampled manhood's name;
And God defend the right.

—*N. Y. Tribune.*

THE GERMAN VINE-GROWERS OF MISSOURI.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

MARTHASVILLE, Warren Co., Mo., May 19, 1858.

THE German element in the population of Missouri is becoming now a most important one in determining the character of the State. The German lodges of Free Masonic and Odd Fellowship are springing up in all parts of the country, and the German newspapers are numerous, published, have printed, notices posted, school books issued, all in the foreign tongue. The best agriculture and gardening in the State is in the hands of this busy, thorough people. Slavery melts away before the free Teuton tonic industry. The slaveholders find themselves competed with on the market, undersold and far outstripped in the yield of the same lands. They sell their worn out fields to these intrusive foreigners, and emigrate with their negroes in disgust to Texas. Besides, as a German well explained to me, the slave is becoming too expensive a luxury. A healthy negro man costs now in Missouri some $1,200. Capital is worth better interest in the cultivation of Mexico and Central America, were briefly considered and afterwards adopted. They contained severe denunciations of Paulding for his arrest of General Walker, declaring his course to be "illegal and disgraceful," and asserting a purpose to make a similar act in future a cause of dissnion and physical resistance. The Hon. Percy Walker, of Mobile, who offered the resolutions, advocated them briefly, and severely criticised Paulding as a "disgraced man." Gen. Walker was present during the decision, and seemed much pleased at the adoption of the resolutions. This expression of a purpose to resist any disagreeable decision of the Supreme Court, if it seems to be

States, or States calling themselves free, make such provisions, maintain such enactments, I advise them all to close their mouths against the system of slavery in all to close their mouths. When I give my voice or my vote the United States. When I give my voice or my vote to maintain any such outrages or any wrongs, I vote close my lips forever against slavery in any portion of the country. If we are opposed to slavery as a violation of human rights (and if we are opposed to it at all, we are opposed to it on that broad ground)—if we are opposed to it because it violates the rights of man, we had better put our own State and our own public sentiments right, before we arraign others.

I cannot vote for the admission of Oregon into the Union with this Constitution, though I do not will to vote against the admission of a free State. I would welcome free States, even if they have not Constitutions precisely as I would like them, and trust to the influences of society as I would like them, and trust to the influences of time; but I cannot give my vote for a State that has adopted a provision not excluding these men, but denying to them the right to sue in the Courts of the State, for the protection of their persons, the protection of their lives against lawless violence. I may refrain from voting for I do not wish to vote against the admission of a free State into this Union, but I cannot vote for a provision of this character. I should feel that if I did it, I gave my own personal sanction to it. In refusing to vote for the admission of Oregon, I may meet the censure of political friends in my own State, and in other portions of the country. But, sir, with me this is a matter of conscience, and I cannot do it.

BARON HUMBOLDT ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

A PRIVATE LETTER TO MR. JULIUS FROEBEL.

Communicated to The Tribune with Humboldt's consent.

ACCEPT, my dear Froebel, if only in a few lines, my most cordial thanks for your kind letter and for the gift of an able work on your personal experience in America, in which you have submitted all classes of society to such a sagacious comparison. You are here warmly cherished in the memory of all who are capable of feeling with your distinguished scientific attainments, the nobleness of your character, and the peculiar features of your mind. I have boasted of you friendship with me in the new volume of Ko received the first part of your travels and researches, which had already often been described to me by friends, and especially by Varnhagen von Ense. I trust I shall not lose your favor on account of differences which from you in regard to the connection between the North Mexican highlands and the Rocky Mountains. Our controversy, as you will find when you read attentively (pp. 431–440), is almost entirely one of words. I make a distinction between a broad, continuous elevation, and the disconnected chain rising above it, often steeply and like battlements. The word mountain is very indefinite. In spite of my heretical disposition, however, your 11th chapter (pp. 504–518) gives me a great deal of instruction. You have explained many points which were only hinted at in the "Remarks" (Contributions to Phys. Geog., Smithson. Inst). But there are other points in which I cannot be otherwise than those elevations. Your next volume on the political future of America, would I, almost the original Adam, gladly live to see. Continue to brand the shameful devotion to slavery, the inadequate importation of negroes, under the pretence of their becoming free—a means to stimulate the hunting of negroes in the interior of Africa. What atrocities have been witnessed by one who has had the misfortune to live in such a time (1759 to 1858. My book against slavery (Political Essay on the Island of Cuba) is not prohibited in Madrid, but cannot be purchased in the United States, which you call "The Republic of distinguished people," except with the omission of everything that relates to the sufferings of our colored fellowmen, who, according to my political views, are entitled to the enjoyment of the same freedom with ourselves. Add to this, the anathema on other races of men, forgetting that the most ancient cultivation of humanity, before that of the white Hellenic race in Assyria, in Babylon, in the valley of the Nile, in Iran, in China, was the work of colored men, though not woolly-haired.

I still work hard, mostly in the night, because I am unmercifully tormented with a constantly increasing correspondence, for the most part of not the slightest interest. I live joyless in my 89th year, because of the death for which I have ardently striven from my early youth so little has been accomplished.

With renewed expressions of the friendship of many years, which political events have never trenched,

I am ever your illegible ALEX. HUMBOLDT.

Berlin, January 11, 1858.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1858.

Letters containing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard*, 138 *Nassau street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti-Slavery Standard*, 138 *Nassau street, New York.*"

THE REFORMERS *IN THE TRACT SOCIETY.*

At the Annual Meeting of the American Tract Society which has recently been held in this city, a very large majority of the Society—that is to say, *the Society itself*—voted to approve the pro-slavery action, and to sustain the pro-slavery policy, of the Executive Committee during the past year; and followed up this decisive action by re-electing the whole Board of Officers, substituting for two Vice-Presidents, deceased, two intensely pro-slavery persons, and electing, as a new Director, a Northern man with Southern principles, a popular minister in a slave-holding community.

The proceedings at the previous annual meeting, and the signs of the times since, very clearly indicated that such would be the result. If the remonstrating party *then did not care* to interfere with the re-election of those who had done the very mischief against which they were remonstrating, nor even of that notorious representative man, South-side Adams, whose single *veto* would still be sufficient to exclude any tract from the issues of the reformatory character—still more, if they unanimously voted for the very document, standing upon which that Board of Officers have ever since successfully defied them, and maintained their own pro-slavery policy—how could it be expected that *such* a minority should, a year after, displace such a majority? But when we reflect, in addition to these considerations, that that majority has ever since been actively working to favor its already commanding position, while the minority has done little, if any, other preparatory work than an intermittent fretful complaining—and that the great revival of the American pro-slavery religion, which has occurred meanwhile, has greatly strengthened the Society, and proportionably weakened the minority—we must see that this result was as plainly inevitable as any effect from any sufficient cause.

But, to do the minority justice, they *did* make no much preparation as to hold a meeting for consultation at Clinton Hall, on Monday evening, next preceding the Wednesday on which they were to be so thoroughly beaten. It is to the proceedings of this preliminary meeting, to the sort of principle and degree of unanimity displayed in it, and to the amount of action recommended and developed by it, that we now ask the serious attention of our readers, as the means of forming their opinion upon the influence likely to be exerted by such men, so combined, towards the overthrow of slavery.

This meeting, called by a circular marked "Private and Confidential," assembled in considerable numbers on Monday evening, were called to order by Rev. Dr. Tyng, of this city (the first of the signers of the call), and chose for their Chairman Rev. Dr. Duffield, of Philadelphia.

Prayer and a brief statement concerning the origin of the call were made by Dr. Tyng.

Chief-Justice Hornblower, of New Jersey, 81 years old, was indignant that the Tract Society had concluded to preach but half a Gospel. He considered slavery a sin which violates every law in the Decalogue. He would as soon think of sending missionaries to Utah, and forbidding them to say anything against adultery, as to preserve silence on the subject of slavery.

Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, thought that perhaps the Society might still be put right without resorting to the expedient of removing its officers.

Dr. Asa D. Smith said that, however much he might dissent from the views of the Executive Committee, he entertained the highest esteem for them personally. To a certain extent, he agreed with the Secretaries. He was opposed to personal issues. The question before the Tract Society is not if it shall publish Garrisonism or Abolitionism, but a Christian tract on the duty of masters, after having published one on the duty of slaves. He did not feel the present issue to be so dangerous as many considered.

Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, was behind no one in respect for the Secretaries and Committees of the Tract Society. He was much disappointed that they had not published the tract before them last year. [This is the pro-slavery publication commonly called "The Suppressed Tract."] He thought the simple point to be, Can we consent to rescind the action of last year? We cannot stultify ourselves by reversing our action then.

Dr. Tyng said that though, in 1856, he opposed the appointment of a Committee of Investigation, he had been much gratified at the moderation and wisdom of their Report. He considered their nine resolutions wise, appropriate, just, true, and likely to meet the views of Christians everywhere. Tranquility and peace, now as well as then, were the right course. He thought the resolutions of last year should be reaffirmed, but could not sympathize with those who wished also to remove the officers. He thought there was too morbid a sentiment on the subject. The word *slave* might be dropped, and the duties of masters to servants be taught; *or, taking the most ultra ground, and considering slaves as chattels, tracts might be published on the duties of men to beasts.*

Dr. Joseph P. Thompson (of *The Independent*) feared that many would come to the Tract meeting on Wednesday under wrong impressions. They would believe the Society was to be Garrisonized, abolitionized, torn asunder, North from South. But even before New York city merchants he would risk the issue, if a full discussion could be held, if the views expressed this evening could be presented by the same men before them. He *wished the venerable* Bishop Meade, *of Virginia*, could be present, to give *his* views.

Dr. Proudfit, of New Brunswick, did not think the temperate, kind, conciliatory action of last year could be rescinded. It thought the great difficulty was that the colored brethren in the Society had committed an error in repressing truth. Tracts should been published on the duties of masters. He did not believe in interfering with the economics of the subject; the South would not hear that, *nor would we.* But a Christian presentation of the duties of masters should be made.

Lewis Tappan coincided in what had been said of slavery, but he thought other things had been said inconsistent with it. Slavery is a sin, what right has the Tract Society to publish on the duties of masters to slaves, but not on the duties of wrong-doers in wrong-doing? He considered the tract printed, but not published, most pernicious. [*Subsequent laughter followed*, after which Mr. Tappan proceeded to comment upon the tracts alluded to, as thoroughly unworthy of the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, until a motion to adjourn to 9 the next morning.

On motion of Mr. Jay, a committee was appointed to indicate the best course to be pursued at the approaching anniversary.

Judge Hornblower, Dr. Tyng, Dr. Bacon, Dr. A. D. Smith and Dr. J. P. Thompson, were appointed members of this committee, and the meeting adjourned.

On Tuesday morning, the meeting assembled according to adjournment, at 9 o'clock. After prayer by Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, and the reading of the minutes, a letter was read from Dr. Tyng, expressing his regret that he was unable to be present on account of his health, and saying that two points were unalterably fixed in his mind; first, distinct reaffirmation of the entire action of the Society at the meeting of 1857, as the only safe and unopposed ratification of the present officers and committees, *in the confidence that they will decidedly and consistently carry this action out* [!!].

The following two members were added to the committee appointed Monday night: Rev. R. W. Gordon, D.D.; Rev. T. W. Field, of Providence, R. I. Dr. Bacon asked leave to withdraw from the committee. Rev. Mr. Kitchell, of Detroit, was nominated in his place and appointed, but Dr. Bacon was not allowed to withdraw.

Lewis Tappan spoke of the pernicious statements and doctrines in Bishop Meade's part of "the suppressed tract." He declared slaveholding anti-Christian, declared the duty of Christian men to be to insist that the Tract Society shall issue tracts, not on the abuses of slavery, but the *sinfulness* of slavery, and closed with the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the American Tract Society be requested to publish, as soon as possible, and without unnecessary delay, a tract on the sinfulness of American slavery.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this meeting, the fourth resolution of the series adopted by the Society last year be emphatically reaffirmed, and that the declaration that the American Tract Society can and ought to publish, in a fraternal and Christian spirit, upon those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, and those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote, should be carried into effect the present year.

Resolved, That it is expected that all who may be elected to office at the present meeting of the Society will faithfully fulfil the above resolution.

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed with discretionary power to make arrangements for the details of action at the business meeting to-morrow morning, in view of whatever exigencies may then occur.

Lewis Tappan moved that the first resolution he amended by adding some words so as to make it read "Resolved, that because American slavery is a sin against God, therefore," &c.

Dr. Bacon said he had no doubt, and no one could doubt, that this great gigantic evil is sin; but it is a political institution, and the Tract Society was not instituted to deal with political questions, and the less it meddles with political questions the more good it will do. As citizens, we may meddle with them, but not as an American Tract Society.

Dr. Cheever said the only ground on which the Society have any right to publish on slavery is because it is a sin against God. The first moral duty growing out of the existence of slavery is to declare it to be a sin. It is man-stealing. The origin and essence of it is man-stealing. Had this Society borne its testimony against it, the frightful evils which now stalk forth in our land in connection with this subject could never have existed. Can there be any hesitation to make the simple declaration that American slavery is a sin against God?

Rev. Dr. A. Palmer, of Albany (one of the Investigating Committee of 1856), feared that if they mingled up *the outside question* with this question of the duties of slaveholders to their slaves, they should be defeated. He wished the Society to publish on the "Duties of Masters."

Dr. A. D. Smith did not believe the mere legal relation of slaveholder to slave to be sin.

Rev. Dr. Clark, of Brooklyn, thought the question to be if sin is a blessing or a curse. It is one or the other. Slavery is antagonistic to freedom like granite to rock; and it must be drilled with a principle and blown to pieces.

Rev. Mr. Bishop, of Vermont, wanted no anti-slavery discussion. The churches of Vermont wish simply to have the fourth resolution of last year reaffirmed. They do not ask a step in advance.

Rev. Mr. Patton, of Chicago, said, the feeling in Illinois and the West is that slavery is a sin. Whether anything needs to be added to the 4th resolution of last year to make it mean that, is the question.

Rev. Mr. Ide, of Medway, Mass., believed slaveholding to be a sin, but asked, Is it necessary to say so on this occasion, and will it help the end we have in view?

Rev. Mr. Moore, of Connecticut, agreed with the last speaker.

Rev. Mr. Bartlett, of Chicago, thought the reaffirmation of the 4th resolution of last year would accomplish the end desired, and that to attempt more would defeat it.

Rev. Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, said the Congregational Churches of Maine wanted slavery treated as a sin.

S. B. Chitteuden thought that a declaration that slavery is sin would only tear the Society to pieces.

Dr. Hawes, of Hartford, said—The Tract Society is not an Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. R. Babcock wished slavery to be called sin.

Rev. Mr. Smith, of Northampton, Mass., thought that saying this would defeat everything.

Rev. J. P. Thompson was satisfied, now as last year, with both the negative and affirmative aspects of the 4th resolution. He would make no addition to it.

The resolutions introduced by Dr. Thompson, from the Committee, were then adopted, the one by Lewis Tappan, affirming the sinfulness of slavery, being rejected.

Dr. A. D. Smith presented some further resolutions from the Committee, the substantial part of which was that the Society should not allow itself to be silenced—that none of its publications *should express or imply the Christian lawfulness of American Slavery*—and that IT IS ESPECIALLY FITTING THAT A TRACT SHOULD BE PUBLISHED ON THE DUTIES OF MASTERS!!!

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, although no Kilkenny cats, or other most contrarious incompatibles, had ever more inveterately opposed to each other than the last two.

The minority in the Tract Society are divided to this extent, and in this proportion, among themselves. Disagreeing thus in regard to what purity is, and what it implies, they agree in the policy of seeking peace before purity. And they put the interests, not only of the Church, but of the Tract Society, before the interests of the slave. If they have not even been the majority, and carried all the points upon which they themselves are agreed, the cause of truth and righteousness would have gained nothing beyond the miserable, ambiguous resolutions of last year, and the slave would have gained nothing at all.

New-England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Annual Meeting of the *New England Anti-Slavery Convention* assembled in Boston on Wednesday morning, May 26, at 10 o'clock, a. m. At the hour named for the meeting to commence, the hall (Mercantile Hall) was entirely filled—every seat, and all available standing room, being occupied, and it was estimated that one thousand persons left, unable to get inside the hall. It was unfortunate that a larger place had not been provided. So great and eager a crowd, at the opening of the Convention, had not been seen for many years. Undoubtedly the corrupt pro-slavery action of the American Tract Society and of the Boston branch had much to do in the stirring a feeling of popular disgust and indignation, of which this unusual throng was one manifestation. And it was most cheering to find that the hot-bed revival of a spurious religion, which has consumed so much good during the past winter, has been powerless to injure, or even to weaken, the anti-slavery faith and conscience of the true and tried Abolitionists of New England, but has even proved the occasion of awaking in many hearts a new devotion to that great cause of Freedom and Humanity—the Anti-Slavery Cause—which is seen more clearly than ever to combine and concentrate in itself the essential elements of a pure, unadulterated, bold, faithful and genuine Christianity.

The Convention was called to order, soon after 10 o'clock, by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and it was unanimously agreed to proceed at once to organization.

Mr. Jackson said that he would submit to the meeting a list of officers prepared (to save time) by the Committee of Arrangements. The list was as follows:

For President—EDMUND QUINCY, of Massachusetts.

Vice-Presidents—Francis Jackson, of Boston; Peter Libbey, of Maine; Feleg Clarke, of Rhode Island; Benjamin C. Bell, of New Hampshire; Ebenezer D. Hudson, of Vermont; Hiram Mattoon, of Connecticut; Joseph Draper, of Milford, Mass.; Ellingham L. Capron, of Worcester, Mass.; Joshua Perry, of Sturbridge, Mass.; Prince Crowell, of Dennis, Mass.; Josiah Henshaw, of West Brookfield, Mass.; William Ashby, of Newburyport, Mass.; Joseph Carpenter, of New Rochelle, N. Y.

Secretaries—Edmund Quincy, Samuel May, Joseph Hewland, and C. K. Whipple.

Business Committee—William Lloyd Garrison, Maria W. Chapman, Charles L. Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips, Edmund C. Burleigh, Stephen S. Foster, Andrew T. Foss, William Wells Brown.

Finance Committee—Elbridge Gerry Snague, Abington; Reuben Hall, Dedham; Samuel E. Remond, Salem; Samuel Dyer, Ashington; Sallie Holley, Rochester, N. Y.; Lucy Coleman, New York.

The unanimous assent of the Convention was given to the organization thus reported.

A. T. Foss, of New Hampshire, was introduced to the audience, and spoke of the Revival that has spread through the land, and said we must judge of its character not by its professions, its outside aspects, but by its fruits. Now what are its fruits? The first fruit that has dropped from the tree is the retrograde action of the American Tract Society at New York, week before last. Mr. Foss then went on in detail to state the past and present position of the Tract Society, and said, the fruit of the tree is one, the religion of the country is altogether corrupt in all its branches and ramifications. You may want to hear me make some exception, but I can make none; all are in harmony, and all are working together in this revival; even the liberal sects are involved with the rest in working the machinery of the American slaveholding religion. In Ohio there are some small come-outer sects, that have attempted to separate themselves from this spurious religion, but with little success. Others have rushed back and joined with the other sects in reviving the American Religion.

I repudiate this slaveholding religion. I loathe a slaveholding Christ and all revivals of his religion.

The remarks of Mr. Foss were often interrupted by the vain attempts of the crowded audience to attain comfortable positions, and the attempts of constantly increasing numbers to find standing room in the densely packed Hall, one man in the audience remarking that in 1833 it Hall, one man in the audience remarking that in 1833 it was different to a Hall, and just, but now it was difficult to get to a Hall, and just, but now it was difficult to get to a Hall, and just, but now it was difficult to get

matter. It is *knowledge* with me, and where knowledge commences, faith ends. I have a God, but he is not a slaveholding God, and I despise such a God; when you ask me if I believe in your God, I reply, I know who is your God. It may be that the being you reverence as God is the one I hate as a Devil. I care not for names. God is the one I have no respect for the *name* of God I reverence no name. I have no respect for the *name* of Jesus more than the name of Devil. Names are nothing. Character is everything, all; and when you have clothed your deity with the characteristics of the American God, a slaveholding, slave-trading, slave-breeding God, I have no respect for him—I repudiate him.

Jesus of Nazareth was no such representation of a God; but in all his teachings shows us love, humanity, justice and benevolence, as his highest ideal of a deity. I love the God of Jesus of Nazareth, and hate the God and the Christ of the American Church; and if I am not now understood, then I cannot be.

Lysander Spooner here inquired if Mr. Wright believed that anybody believed it to be their Christian duty to hold that slaveholding and sanctions slaveholding, and that therefore they were better satisfied to continue the practice of so wrong-doing than without this sanction.

Mr. Spooner said that he did not believe that the fact of anybody's being a church-member had anything to do with his being a slaveholder. He thought that all this talk about the Church and religion was waste time. The church-membership of people had little or nothing to do with their character or their practices.

J. N. Buffum, of Lynn, stated that he had this forenoon heard Dr. Cheever pour out a strain of concentrated thunderbolts against the American Church. You may take Mr. Garrison, Pillsbury, Foster, and throw in all the rest of the fanatics and boil them all down, and you cannot make one Dr. Cheever, for fiery denunciation of a corrupt Church, and I think he knows better than friend Spooner the agency and guilt of the Church in the matter of slavery.

Mrs. Lucy N. Colman, of New York, said that, although a Women's Rights woman, she thought her sex had been too much maligned on this platform. Woman was not more morally in much superior to man as she had been here represented to be. There was, alas, too much equality in wickedness and error. The mothers, even of New England, are too much in fault, in their instructions to their children; too often they frighten their little ones with the dread of the "black man." They need reforming as well as the other sex.

Dr. J. M. Hawkes, of Manchester, N. H., then addressed the Convention. [A full report of his remarks will appear hereafter.]

C. L. Remond said that Mr. Spooner would be better qualified to judge of the position and practice of the Church and Clergy upon this question if he should travel awhile in the capacity of an Anti-Slavery Corporter or Lecturer.

His own experience showed him clearly that the strongholds of American Slavery were in the American Church and the schools of American theology. Mr. Remond went at length and in detail to demonstrate this position; and concluded by reading from a Western paper a *prayer to the Devil*, being a parody upon our ordinary church prayers, and which many men now in pulpits might not more consistently than those they now hypocritically pour up.

Lysander Spooner said, I don't believe there is one in ten thousand who considers it a religious duty to hold slaves. Instead of being the bulwark of slavery, the clergy are mere drift wood, not a bulwark of anything, and not worth regarding. It is ridiculous to suppose that the people of this country look to the Church or the clergy for religion or morals, or meanness, or anything.

Mr. Garrison read, from the Business Committee, Resolutions Nos. 8 and 9.

Parker Pillsbury spoke as follows: I do not wonder at the intense emotion of our friend, C. L. Remond. Having married with the sister of his sister, I have seen manifestations of the spirit of American prejudice against the people of color, such as few of us realize to exist. If Mr. Spooner will make such a journey with us, we will soon convince him of the power and extensive influence of the Church.

Beecher and Cheever were once denouncing us. Now we are told that Dr. Cheever surpasses the concentrated power of us all in his rebuke of pro-slavery. It was positively declared by the American Board of Commissioners that no missionaries had been employed by them who held slaves. A few years after, they admitted it. For speaking the truth respecting the American Tract Society, *The Independent* opened its batteries upon me; now *The Independent* itself is publishing the same things. It is not too much to say that the strongest expressions that have been used by the American Anti-Slavery Society have been proved by the practice of the American Church.

Now we have religion revived, and the power of the Church manifested as it never was before.

In 1830 to 1840 we had numerous and powerful revivals, so that the Church fancied the hour of her supremacy had come. In all the converts to that mighty revival, I never knew a slave emancipated, although the market value of many was increased by their piety. But Motley emancipated her slaves, and though he massacred and butchered the Mexicans and reduced slavery, during those revivals, I had predicted these things, would not every minister in the land have pronounced me a slanderer? Yet those things are now history.

We have just had new revivals over the whole country. Have any of you thought, What new manifestation of diabolism is now pending?

The business men's prayer-meetings seem to be adapted to produce the sort of religion which has well been called Commercial Christianity. We have the whole of the New York public journals teeming with advertisements of negro minstrels, of men who had contrived to turn themselves inside out and bring the darker part outward; and mixed with them were advertisements of the different entertainment offered in the churches; and both were thronged. The advertisements must have been a profitable item in the business of the secular press—and it seemed half converted itself; at least on the anxious seat; and it spoke in most soothing, if not solemn, accents upon the sanctity of self-growl, of the Country, even to the innocent yelping of the *suborned* poodle of the *Evening Transcript*.

In our anniversary meetings in New York, the city was clouded with the revival darkness that had gathered there, but it gave no gleam of hope to the slave. No meeting but that of the Anti-Slavery Society gave the least help to his cause.

And in the anniversaries of this week, in this city, from which, except from this, will any help arise for the slave?

We who are Abolitionists must try to walk worthy of our vocation. Some great calamity must be impending over this guilty land, in view of this sad revival of an oppressive and heartless religion.

Wendell Phillips called upon the Convention and friends of freedom to provide the means to sustain and carry forward this work. He contrasted it with the position of the Republican party, of the Anti-Slavery Society, and showed its higher democratic and Christian character and mission.

S. S. Foster said that all this criticism upon the Church, in the matter of its short-coming and wrong-doing through its collateral organizations and accidental relations, fell short of the testimony that we ought to bear against its deep criminality and guilt in its organic action and direct character. His then went on to show the actual position of the Church, as proved by its own confessions and statements; pointing to an article in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, in support of his position, that the Church held the slaves and hunted the fugitives.

Rev. Mr. Gilley, of New Hampshire, of the Freewill Baptist Church, in a few remarks moved that this Convention advise and request the Committee of the Boston branch of the American Tract Society to publish Dr. Cheever's address made before the American Missionary Association to-day. He claimed exemption for the Freewill Baptist Church from the charges brought against the American Church, as it had no fellowship or complicity with slaveholding.

A. T. Foss hereupon declared that the Freewill Baptist Church was directly and closely connected with slaveholders through their connection with the American and Foreign Bible Society. By this slaveholding Government, and by political support of this slaveholding Government, they are, said he, not exempt, but must by all means be charged with complicity in slaveholding, as well as other denominations.

Mr. Smith, of Boston, also a Freewill Baptist, claimed for his Church the character of an Anti-Slavery Church.

Mr. Foster made a few remarks and the Convention adjourned.

EVENING.

The President in the Chair. The Convention at this its closing session—which was attended, as all the preceding ones had been, by a crowded and most attentive audience—was addressed by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Rev. S. S. Hunting, of Brookfield, and Wendell Phillips, of Boston. The substance of their addresses, which were in every respect worthy of the cause and of themselves, will appear in a future paper.

By request, the question on resolutions 8 and 9 was taken separately. They were adopted, with but two dissenting voices; the remaining resolutions, not already acted on, without a dissent.

☞The entire amount received by the Finance Committee, and subsequently by the Secretaries, for the expenses of the Convention and for the promotion of the cause, was $536 33. Amount pledged, and payable during the year, $1,090.

The Convention, at 10 p. m., adjourned *sine die*.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President.*

Samuel May, Jr.,
Joseph A. Howland, } *Secretaries.*
Charles K. Whipple,

THE RELATION OF SLAVERY TO A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

SPEECH OF REV. THEODORE PARKER,

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in Boston, May 26th, 1858.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: On the matter of slavery, there is a great confusion just now in the American State and the American Church. Monarchic and Oligarchic Europe is at war with this institution. The British Tenton has driven it out of his soil; his kindred, the Celts, the Scandinavians, the Germans and Antrians have done the same. The French Celt owns no property in man, and Napoleon's attempt to restore the doctrine and practice of the Dark Ages is now to fail. Even the Russian slaves attack the principle of bondage. Alexander will liberate 30,000,000 Caucasian slaves, and in less than twelve years the last footprint of the serf will be covered up by the new agriculture of Russia. Turkey cannot long hold out against the steady progress of mankind.

But, in America, the Democratic party thinks slavery is indispensable to good government, and is the normal condition of one-seventh part of the people. The Republican party has nought to say against slavery in man, but allows a minority to own a majority in South Carolina; the American Church is the staunchest supporter of American slavery. To the American Politician, slavery is a "Republican Institution"; to the American Priest, it is a "Christian Institution"; to the American Christian, The Revival of the Ecclesiastical Religion and of the African slave trade go on at the same time. They take sweet counsel together, and walk to the house of *their* God in company. Years ago, the greatest professional Rhetorician of America, "the Monarch of the Platform," "Orator, Patriot, Sage, Cicero of America, Landator of Washington, Apostle of Charity, High Priest of the Union and Friend of Mankind," justified slavery out of the New Testament, and received the sanction of his reader on his knapsack, and shoulder his musket, and march South to defend the masters who make merchandise of men against their insurgent chattels. I know not whether Mr. Everett said that under the influence of "an afiodyne" or a stimulant; but neither the public reply of Southern Congressmen nor the private rebuke of Jefferson—then to near the grave—has yet led this "Patriot, Statesman, Philanthropist," to recognize the statement his maiden speech! Noble Charles Sumner, who "was moulded for our transgressions," in a foreign land seeks the quiet and health he cannot find in this. He hears with him the thanks and the prayers of religious men, but his sails are filled with the curses of the Northern Democrats, the Southern hiss and sneer, the contemptuous laugh of Richard Yeadon, and the *remarkable language* of Mr. Everett, their rhetorical coadjutor. "Remarkable language"! Is there not a shorter name for it, wholly Saxon?

This ecclesiastical and political confusion is amazing. Can you and I do nothing to end it? Let us try. So I will ask your attention to some Thoughts on this Relation of Slavery to a Republican Form of Government.

Man is gregarious by instinct; like sheep and deer, he cannot live save in flocks and herds. Solitary, he perishes: He is social by reflective will—consciously making terms of alliance with his fellows, and shaping the form of his community to suit his needs, which vary from age to age. So in all lands men gronp together, the wildest and also the most enlightened; for this gregarious nature of man appears in all states of his development—lowest and highest. But, while the gregarious savage makes only a herd of men who are driven together by necessity, or drawn by their unreflective instinct, and are domineered over by the strongest, who, unable to perceive their own natural Rights of each; the ablest man rules, but it is for the joint good of him and all, and he does not take his pay by robbing them of their rights, but rather do they voluntarily give him the sweeter compensation of Honor and Gratitude. Thus are both parties materially and spiritually profited by the alliance.

There are two great things to be considered in human History.

1. The Individuality of each man. He is an integer, a Unit of Humanity, impenetrable; his humanity must be respected.

2. The Sociality of all men. All must cohere into one symmetric whole. There is a mutuality of soufal need; the strong man requires the weak man, as the weak needs the strong. As the doctor wants patients, the preacher hearers, the herdsman cattle, the farmer land, so does not less does the weak man need the ability. If they reckoned their worth as means for their protection and guidance, so he needs them as means for his development. Neither greatness nor littleness can be alone.

Now, the Individual reachee his proper growth only in society—with the communion of his fellows. A great character cannot be built up alone; no more than a great temple. A hermit constructs no pyramid; he achieves no great noblenees of manhood. The man running about nowhere, and has no home, is not the most perfect and complete man. The form of society, the more complete and perfect is the individual man whom it brings up. Society is to be tested by the men it breeds; that is the best which produnces the best and most superior individuals.

The Substance of Society depends on the gregarious instinct which gronps men into flocks and herds; this is always the same. But the Form of Society depends upon the will and Intelligence of the controlling men. In all Societies, there are Voluntary Actions—eating, speaking, drinking, and the like; but also Involuntary actions, which go on independent of the individual will —such as breathing, the circulation of the blood, and the like. So in the great companies of men, there are automatic motions of the community, tribe, nation, or mankind, which are not originated by the individual, nor does forethought in the consciousness of special purpose enter into the Body Social with the breathing and similar things are to the Body Social; they belong to social Instinct, are to the individual; they belong to social Instinct, are to the social Will. It is the business of statesmen to regulate the action of both the voluntary and the automatic forces of the collective mass, and make such a form of society as shall produce noble men, in the greatest number and of the best kind.

For the development of Society, their must be Governkent; that is, the society must observe certain Rules of Conduct, called Laws, wherein all persons are held alike subject. There may be Customs which men hit upon, and become wonted to, and they are the consequences of an experiment, the prodnct of history, the record of the past: or they may be the Ideal Aims of the people or the rulers, which anticipate experience, and are intended to shape and control the future—not representing experiments tried, but experiments in process. One is the Gonmon Law, made, not enacted, and worn by the people's feet; it is a public highway because men walk there; the other is Statute Law, enacted by connolous will, not made by actual practice—a road laid out intentionally by the surveyors. The people walk there because it is a public highway.

These two-fold laws may be just—conformable to the constitution of the Universe, the natural Rule of Right, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind, or unjust—contrary to that Higher Law of God and the conscience of man.

Human experience shows that all governmental power of one man over others is abused for the advantage of the holder thereof, and the hurt of those he holds it over, unless they have abundant means to keep him in check, and prevent his tyranny. Meanwhile, governnce make the laws. The private conscience of the ruler is seldom so good a check on his selfishness as the rod and the axe in the hands of the governed.

All society must have its government, that is Rules of Conduct, and Conductors to see that they are kept—Abstract Rules, Concrete Rules. The substance of government consists in these two, and is always the same; but the forme thereof vary much from land to land, and ages to age; yet may they be thus grossly summed up in three:

I. Monarchy—The One-Man-Power; government over all, but by one, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that one.

II. Oligarchy—The Few-Men-Power; government over all, but by a few, and often in practice it turns out to be chiefly for the sake of that few.

III. Democract—the All-Men Power; government over all, by all, and for the sake of all. Yet, practically, it must be government by the majority, and in fact it often turns out to be chiefly for the advantage of that majority. As a general rule, no majority, no small body of men, no individual man, is ever trusted with nolimited power over others, but he abuses it—for his gain, to their loss. Such is the friction in all social machinery.

None of these three types anywhere appears simple; all governments are mixed. The most despotic monarchy is partly oligarchic, for King One cannot dispense with the help of the superior men; and if some of these he wiser and skilfuller than he, ere long it is they who govern, while he only reigns. And these able men, the Few, cannot prevent the automatic action of the social power in the great mass of men, who will instinctively, say, who must of necessity walk in the paths of their own, and be guided in the state roads which perplex the land, and the command to walk in them. Thus do the domestic elements spring up, wild flowers of humanity, where Oligarchs and Kings scattered only the privileged seed, collected by authority out of the court-house, and appointed to be sown in gardens.

So, on the other side, the most Democratic form of government will contain oligarchic and monarchic elements. Even an Democracy cannot enfeeble the powerful man; strong hy nature, no position can make him weak. He will rule men just in proportion to his power, and, if wicked also, will rule them for his apparent gain and to their real loss. So compalnce of rich men, powerful hy money, or of educated men, powerful by knowledge, will do much to control the majority who have only their naked members to rely on—must be consulted, and also weighed. The Democratic majority is not always wise, or but commonly selfish; they will sway the people with an oligarchic misrule. Thus, even in the national field, an "enemy," so men call what they do not comprehend, is continually sowing these tares among the wheat, which, though they scem the ground and check the grain, must yet not be pulled up, lest worse ill fall out thereby. Let not names deceive us; the automatic action of the society is the main social force; it starts from naked, ignorant wildness—the babyhood of the human race—and grows up till the hindmost nations are what we hear of in New Holland and Patagonia, while the foremost are what we see in New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome. The whole of human History is evidence of this Progress. But even now, it depends chiefly on the automatic actions of general kind; once it was controlled entirely by them. Now an intelligent, moral will, a thought, is the main force within. Man was progressive, as the beaver was constructive, and the squirrel acquisitive. As yon and I grow up from babyhood, and, though we take no thought, yet add whole cubits to our stature, so has Mankind made progress from wildness to the enlightened condition of the foremost people to-day.

This Progress of Mankind may be thus summed up. It consists in three things: 1. The development of Personal power in the individual. 2. The multiplication of Society. II. The development of Social powers in the gregarious mass. This is done by combining men into companies: first, there is the binary nnion of Him and Her, and at length the multitudinous compounding of four hundred millions, despotically welded into a Chinese empire—which is a stiff, unwieldy bar of iron; or of three thousand kindred, despotically welded into a Chinese empire—which is a stiff, unwieldy bar of iron; or of three thousand kindred, despotically welded into a Chinese empire—which is a stiff, unwieldy bar of iron; or of drawn by their unreflective instinct, and are domineered over by the strongest, who, unable to perceive their own natural Rights of each; the ablest man rules, but it is for the joint good of him and all, and he does not take his pay by robbing them of their rights, but rather do they voluntarily give him the sweeter compensation of Honor and Gratitude. Thus are both parties materially and spiritually profited by the alliance.

There are two great things to be considered in human History.

1. The Individuality of each man. He is an integer, a Unit of Humanity, impenetrable; his humanity must be respected.

2. The Sociality of all men. All must cohere into one symmetric whole. There is a mutuality of soufal need; the strong man requires the weak man, as the weak needs the strong. As the doctor wants patients, the preacher hearers, the herdsman cattle, the farmer land, so does not less does the weak man need the ability. If they reckoned their worth as means for their protection and guidance, so he needs them as means for his development. Neither greatness nor littleness can be alone.

Now, the Individual reachee his proper growth only in society—with the communion of his fellows. A great character cannot be bnilt up alone; no more than a great temple. A hermit constructs no pyramid; he achieves no great noblenees of manhood. The man running about nowhere, and has no home, is not the most perfect and complete man. The form of society, the more complete and perfect is the individual man whom it brings up. Society is to be tested by the men it breeds; that is the best which produnces the best and most superior individuals.

The Substance of Society depends on the gregarious instinct which gronps men into flocks and herds; this is always the same. But the Form of Society depends upon the will and Intelligence of the controlling men. In all Societies, there are Voluntary Actions—eating, speaking, drinking, and the like; but also Involuntary actions, which go on independent of the individual will —such as breathing, the circulation of the blood, and the like. So in the great companies of men, there are automatic motions of the community, tribe, nation, or mankind, which are not originated by the individual, nor does forethought in the consciousness of special purpose enter into the Body Social with the breathing and similar things are to the Body Social; they belong to social Instinct, are to the individual; they belong to social Instinct, are to the social Will. It is the business of statesmen to regulate the action of both the voluntary and the automatic forces of the collective mass, and make such a form of society as shall produce noble men, in the greatest number and of the best kind.

For the development of Society, their must be Governkent; that is, the society must observe certain Rules of Conduct, called Laws, wherein all persons are held alike subject. There may be Customs which men hit upon, and become wonted to, and they are the consequences of an experiment, the prodnct of history, the record of the past: or they may be the Ideal Aims of the people or the rulers, which anticipate experience, and are intended to shape and control the future—not representing experiments tried, but experiments in process. One is the Gonmon Law, made, not enacted, and worn by the people's feet; it is a public highway because men walk there; the other is Statute Law, enacted by connolous will, not made by actual practice—a road laid out intentionally by the surveyors. The people walk there because it is a public highway.

These two-fold laws may be just—conformable to the constitution of the Universe, the natural Rule of Right, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind, or unjust—contrary to that Higher Law of God and the conscience of man.

Human experience shows that all governmental power of one man over others is abused for the advantage of the holder thereof, and the hurt of those he holds it over, unless they have abundant means to keep him in check, and prevent his tyranny. Meanwhile, governnce make the laws. The private conscience of the ruler is seldom so good a check on his selfishness as the rod and the axe in the hands of the governed.

All society must have its government, that is Rules of Conduct, and Conductors to see that they are kept—Abstract Rules, Concrete Rules. The substance of government consists in these two, and is always the same; but

"Go ahead." Nowhere has there been such advance in two hundred and fifty years. Think of North America at the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, in 1608, and of the United States at the settlement of Sumner, in Kansas, in 1858! What growth of numbers, of wealth; what improvement of Institutions—ecclesiastical, political, social, domestic! What instinct of progress there is in the American people! What speculative desire for it, what resolute will, what practical action!

We have the foremost Form of political Institutions, with local self-government as the Ideal; we take it for the equivalent of Freedom, while centralized government by others we look on as the same with Slavery.

This progress appears in many things—in Agriculture, Mining, Manufactures, Commerce—the four grand divisions, that the Business World. You find it in all departments of thought; even theology is amenable to improvement. Unitarians, Universalists, Spiritualists, carry on the historic continuity of development, which reaches from the flight of Moses ont of Egypt down to the meeting of this Anti-Slavery Convention.

Since this century began, there has been a great progress in the Political Institutions of all the Northern Races. The Constitutions become more democratic, customs and statutes are modified; condensed, centralized power is broken up and diffused abroad to many centres of local self-government. This progress in the Form and Substance of such institutions goes on with accelerated velocity.

But at the South, yon do not meet with a similar improvement; nay, you often find the opposite. For Slavery has there a permanent welcome. That dead from the Ice Ages of Geology, which has been imported and naturalized there; with its pernicious shade it hinders the growth of the fair plant of Liberty, once set even in that soil. What was once a transient exception in the history of the North is become a typical Institution there; it is a guide-board instance, pointing to the central peculiarity of the South. Under her control, the Federal Government also retrogrades in the same way, under the influence of the same exceptional cause. From the latter, I select three examples.

In 1793, the Federal Government took slavery under its special protection, passed the first Fugitive Slave law, according to Property in Men a gnarantee it never gave to Property in Land or Things. Here it violated both the natural and the constitutional rights of the individual States, and adopted a vicious centralization of the most dangerous character. In 1820, the Supreme Court—which is also the purchased creature of the Slave Power—in the Prigg case, decided that the Individual States had neither duties nor rights in this matter; but the United States might kidnap a runaway on any free soil of the individual States. In 1850, by the new Fugitive Slave Bill, the means of kidnapping were provided at the expense of the General Government, and man-stealing was made easy. In 1857, in the Dred Scott case, the Supreme Court decided that a colored man had no rights which the people were bound to respect, for he was not a citizen of the United States—of course, he could not receive a passport enabling him to travel on the European continent, nor command a merchant vessel, claim a citizen's bounty in the fishery, nor prcmpt a quarter section of the public land, nor exercise any of the other rights of citizenship; yet is he made amenable to all the laws thereof he is not allowed to put to the ban. Two Judges dissented from this iniquitous decision, as false in history, as nnjust in law—Mr. McLean of Ohio, Mr. Curtis of Massachusetts: it gives me great pleasure to mention and extol his manly conduct then! This is the first example—what a striding backward for five and sixty years!

2. The Federal Government has taken special pains to acquire territory and put this exceptional institution in it. Louisiana and the other States were taken from Mankind starts from naked, ignorant wildness—the babyhood of the human race—and grows up till the hindmost nations are what we hear of in New Holland and Patagonia, while the foremost are what we see in New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome. The whols of human History is evidence of this Progress. But even now, it depends chiefly on the automatic actions of general kind; once it was controlled entirely by them. Now an intelligent, moral will, a thought, is the main force within. Man was progressive, as the beaver was constructive, and the squirrel acquisitive. As yon and I grow up from babyhood, and, though we take no thought, yet add whole cubits to our stature, so has Mankind made progress from wildness to the enlightened condition of the foremost people to-day.

This Progress of Mankind may be thus summed up. It consists in three things: 1. The development of Personal power in the individual. 2. The multiplication of Society. II. The development of Social powers in the gregarious mass. This is done by combining men into companies: first, there is the binary nnion of Him and Her, and at length the multitudinous compounding of four hundred millions, despotically welded into a Chinese empire—which is a stiff, unwieldy bar of iron; or of three thousand kindred, despotically welded into a Chinese empire—which is a stiff, unwieldy bar of iron; or of drawn by their unreflective instinct, and are domineered over by the strongest, who, unable to perceive their own natural Rights of each; the ablest man rules, but it is for the joint good of him and all, and he does not take his pay by robbing them of their rights, but rather do they voluntarily give him the sweeter compensation of Honor and Gratitude. Thus are both parties materially and spiritually profited by the alliance.

There are two great things to be considered in human History.

1. The Individuality of each man. He is an integer, a Unit of Humanity, impenetrable; his humanity must be respected.

2. The Sociality of all men. All must cohere into one symmetric whole. There is a mutuality of soufal need; the strong man requires the weak man, as the weak needs the strong. As the doctor wants patients, the preacher hearers, the herdsman cattle, the farmer land, so does not less does the weak man need the ability. If they reckoned their worth as means for their protection and guidance, so he needs them as means for his development. Neither greatness nor littleness can be alone.

Now, the Individual reachee his proper growth only in society—with the communion of his fellows. A great character cannot be bnilt up alone; no more than a great temple. A hermit constructs no pyramid; he achieves no great noblenees of manhood. The man running about nowhere, and has no home, is not the most perfect and complete man. The form of society, the more complete and perfect is the individual man whom it brings up. Society is to be tested by the men it breeds; that is the best which produnces the best and most superior individuals.

The Substance of Society depends on the gregarious instinct which gronps men into flocks and herds; this is always the same. But the Form of Society depends upon the will and Intelligence of the controlling men. In all Societies, there are Voluntary Actions—eating, speaking, drinking, and the like; but also Involuntary actions, which go on independent of the individual will —such as breathing, the circulation of the blood, and the like. So in the great companies of men, there are automatic motions of the community, tribe, nation, or mankind, which are not originated by the individual, nor does forethought in the consciousness of special purpose enter into the Body Social with the breathing and similar things are to the Body Social; they belong to social Instinct, are to the individual; they belong to social Instinct, are to the social Will. It is the business of statesmen to regulate the action of both the voluntary and the automatic forces of the collective mass, and make such a form of society as shall produce noble men, in the greatest number and of the best kind.

For the development of Society, their must be Governkent; that is, the society must observe certain Rules of Conduct, called Laws, wherein all persons are held alike subject. There may be Customs which men hit upon, and become wonted to, and they are the consequences of an experiment, the prodnct of history, the record of the past: or they may be the Ideal Aims of the people or the rulers, which anticipate experience, and are intended to shape and control the future—not representing experiments tried, but experiments in process. One is the Gonmon Law, made, not enacted, and worn by the people's feet; it is a public highway because men walk there; the other is Statute Law, enacted by connolous will, not made by actual practice—a road laid out intentionally by the surveyors. The people walk there because it is a public highway.

These two-fold laws may be just—conformable to the constitution of the Universe, the natural Rule of Right, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind, and the reflection thereof in the moral sense of mankind, or unjust—contrary to that Higher Law of God and the conscience of man.

Human experience shows that all governmental power of one man over others is abused for the advantage of the holder thereof, and the hurt of those he holds it over, unless they have abnndant means to keep him in check, and prevent his tyranny. Meanwhile, governnce make the laws. The private conscience of the ruler is seldom so good a check on his selfishness as the rod and the axe in the hands of the governed.

All society must have its government, that is Rules of Conduct, and Conductors to see that they are kept—Abstract Rules, Concrete Rules. The substance of government consists in these two, and is always the same; but

among them, the right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

2. Those Rights are unalienable, except by the misconduct that forfeits the possessor thereof. One man cannot alienate another's rights.

3. In respect to these natural and unalienable Rights, all men are equal; with the rich, the educated, men of famous family, these rights are not quantitatively greater, or qualitatively more nice, than with the poor, the ignorant, and men born to obscure families.

4. Governments are instituted to secure these natural, unalienable and equal Rights to all men.

5. These governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, that is from the majority of the inhabitants; and accordingly, when the government does not secure them the enforcement thereof, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it.

In this Programme of constnctive Revolution, the government charter of American Liberty, these Principles were laid down. They were not borrowed from Europe, or King, to any statute Law, or rested on the foundation of any customs among men, or indnctive reasoning of philosophers. They are founded not on the Facts of History, but on human History, but on Facts of Consciousness in human nature itself. Our fathers said, "We hold these trnths to be self-evident." Young Mr. Jefferson furnished the phrase, but put the Ideas which had long been in the air, and had been passed upon in the town meetings of Boston, and other little villages in Massachusetts, and which, long before, had been put into two solemn Acts inspired them into the democratic young man of Virginia. New and strange to the world, when they were to the Fathers of the Nation, they were old Ideas to them, when even then they had also a history. That is the first witness for definition: snch his testimony. If the people were to establish such a government as would represent the Ideas of Freedom, a "Republican Form of Government" must be one which, in substance, secures to all men their natural, unalienable and equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and has the consent of the governed.

II. The next source is the Constitution of the United States itself. During the war, a Confederation was made, founded on the principal; but even when the Revolution was complete, something more lasting was needed. Institutions must be invented, organized and administered on the principle. This was done by the Fathers in the Union to actnal work, and incorporate them into the political life of the People. This could not be done directly by the People in a mass, but only by a few selected by the People. So a scheme of Institutions must be prepared. For that purpose, delegates were appointed in all the States, and a convention met at Philadelphia. Its work was done, and proposed it to the people, who accepted it by rather a small majority of the popular vote. The servants who wrought it out confessed that it had great defects. The People of Franklin, in appeal to the great man in America, of Washington, the next most distinguished: many leading men in the individual States, especially in Massachusetts, made the same complaint. Such was the case with Samuel Adams and John Hancock, then the two most influential men in Massachusetts. But it was accepted by the People in the Federal States; and while, for the moment, they tolerated it as a matter of necessity, which either they must accept with their part of the bargain or lose the whole, they never for a moment lost from sight their ideal of a Republican Form of Government, and constantly strove to approximate their Institutions to it. The Northern States one by one removed this shameful exception from their institutions. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, acted with their part of the bargain, but always did deeds inconsistent with these Principles and Purposes, but their personal convictions still remained unaltered. When Madison and Jefferson read this clause in the preamble of the Constitution, "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and *our Posterity*," do you believe they limited its application to *white men*—to the children born *here*? Its application to *white men*—to the children born *here*? Its application to *white men*—to the children born *here*?

THE PASS OF DEATH.

It was a narrow pass,
Watered with human tears,
For Death had kept the outer gate
Almost six thousand years.
And the ceaseless tread of the world's feet
Was ever in my ears—
Thronging, jostling, hurrying by,
As if no more ship bore on to die.

A stately king drew near,
This narrow pass to tread,
Around him hung a gorgeous robe,
And a crown was on his head.
But Death, with a look of withering scorn,
Arrested him and said,
"In humbled dress must the king draw near,
For the crown and the purple are useless here."

Next came a man of wealth,
And huge was his proud and bold,
And he bore in his hand a lengthy scroll,
Telling of sums untold;
But Death, who cared not for rank,
Careth as little for gold—
"Here that scroll I cannot allow,
For the gold of the richest is powerless now."

Another followed fast,
And a book was in his hand,
Filled with the flashes of burning thought
That are known in many a land;
But the child of genius quailed to hear
Death's pitiless demand—
"Here that book cannot enter with thee,
For the bright flash of genius is nothing to me."

Next came a maiden fair,
With that eye so deeply bright,
That stirs within you strange, sweet care,
Should you meet on a moonlight night;
But Death, ere the gentle maid passed through,
Snatched away its light—
"Beauty is power in the world," he saith,
"But what can it do in the Pass of Death?"

A youth of sickly mien
Followed in thoughtful mood,
Whose heart was filled with love to God
And the earthly brotherhood.
Death felt he could not quench the heart
That lived for others' good—
"I own," cried he, "the power of love,
I must let it pass to the realms above!"

—*Scottish Guardian.*

*EXPLORATIONS IN AFRICA.**

The first effort in recent times to reach the interior of Africa from the west was that of Mungo Park. Mungo Park was the unspoken of the African association in 1795 and again in 1804. He discovered and traced the course of the Niger for a considerable distance, when he was murdered with most of his large party. It was twenty years after this before another attempt was made, when Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton, starting from Tripoli, succeeded in penetrating far beyond the point reached by any previous traveller. They discovered a large inland sea eastward, which afterwards proved to be the Niger, and the great fresh water lagoon known as Lake Chad or Tsad. They also visited various parts of the semi-civilized kingdom of Bornou. But none of these intrepid travellers returned from a second journey; all these martyrs to African discovery, for death overtook them in the midst of their successful explorations. Lander, the faithful servant of Clapperton, alone succeeded in returning to England, taking with him the journals of the expedition.

The interesting discoveries thus made known stimulated farther efforts, and Lander, accompanied by his brother, was sent out. They reached Bonssa on the Niger, discovered the river Tshadda, and returned to England by following the Niger to the sea. Another expedition soon after followed, under Mr. Laird and Lieutenant Allen, with two small steamers and a sailing vessel. They entered the Niger from the sea, reached Rabba, and visited many of the great native chiefs and their cities, made important discoveries, and, after losing more than twenty of their party by disease, barely succeeded in making their escape from the deadly climate, and returned to England under Captain Allen, in which the main exploration, remained and made some extensive journeys, which resulted in farther interesting discoveries.

One of the leading objects of the various expeditions was to reach Timbuctoo, a great city which stood on the Niger in Central Africa, and which was reported to be the most populous in that country. After the failure of Clapperton's second expedition, Major Laing, starting from Tripoli in 1826, actually succeeded in reaching this city. He remained there a month, but was murdered on his return, and his journals were lost. The year before, M. Caillé also reached it, and returned in safety; and although many doubted the truth of his statements, the Geographical Society of Paris, satisfied with their correctness, awarded him a prize of 10,000 francs.

It would take too much space to dwell on the many attempts which have been made during the last sixty or seventy years to reach Central Africa from Egypt and the East. The journey was always found to be one of the last century, are familiar to all readers of travels; but during the last ten years the attention of the scientific world has been awakened in a remarkable degree to the hidden regions of this great continent; and though several have penetrated far into it recently, and even to the sources of the Nile, and added greatly to our knowledge of African geography in this quarter, none have reached the point in question. Without mentioning even the names of those adventurous travellers, several of which were connected with missionary societies, we will come at once to the discoveries of Dr. Barth, whose recently published volumes by the Messrs. Harper, of New York, have led us to lay before our readers before our readers.

Dr. Barth, Dr. Overbeg and Mr. Richardson set out from Tripoli, in the year 1849, for the interior of Africa. The latter soon after died. The others prosecuted their journey, and, after many hardships, reached the kingdom of Bornou, the capital of Kuka, towards the close of the last century, are familiar to all readers of travels; but during the last ten years the attention of the scientific world has been awakened in a remarkable degree to the hidden regions of this great continent; and though several have penetrated far into it recently, even to the sources of the Nile, and added greatly to our knowledge of African geography in this quarter, none have reached the point in question. Without mentioning even the names of those adventurous travellers, several of which were connected with missionary societies, we will come at once to the discoveries of Dr. Barth, whose recently published volumes by the Messrs. Harper, of New York, have led us to lay before our readers before our readers.

Dr. Barth, Dr. Overbeg and Mr. Richardson set out from Tripoli, in the year 1849, for the interior of Africa. The latter soon after died. The others prosecuted their journey, and, after many hardships, reached the kingdom of Bornou, the capital of Kuka, towards the close of the Chad, died in 1852, leaving Dr. Barth alone to carry on the objects of the expedition, which he successfully accomplished, during a period of nearly six years, and returned to England in 1855. The first of the two volumes, which, in the London edition, will fill five large octavo volumes, and the American edition three volumes, we shall exclusively refer.

The first volume is chiefly occupied with journeys and explorations between the Mediterranean coast of Tripoli and the interior kingdom of Haussa. This embraces the Desert of Zahara, which, though often traversed by Europeans, has never before been so minutely described as by Dr. Barth. Indeed, this gentleman, from his thorough scholarship, his varied acquirements, attainments, and his knowledge of the oriental languages, seems to have been well fitted for the task before him. We will not dwell on his journey across the desert, although it is full of interest, but will at once introduce the reader to the great negro kingdom of Bornou, twenty degrees of latitude south of Tripoli, and in the very heart of the continent. This region had before been reached by Denham, Clapperton, and, more recently, by twenty years before.

Here our traveller found himself in the midst of a country totally unlike that which borders the continent on the north. Large rivers flowing through rich agricultural regions; dense forests of strange and unknown trees; a luxuriant vegetation everywhere; well-tilled fields in every direction, while large towns and cities, with a civilization indigenous to them, helped to give the whole a stamp which belongs peculiarly to Central Africa.

Mahomedanism and the civilization which accompanies it were introduced here several centuries ago, appears by Arabian writers. Nevertheless, from the same authorities, it appears that long before Pagan kingdoms existed here which extended even beyond, where the religion of the crescent is known. Mahomedanism, however, advancing southward, subduing and overturning Paganism, yet doing little towards improving the condition of the people, or checking those terrible wars which carry such destruction in their track, and which still prove the most obvious drawback towards the elevation of the people to a standard above that of their conquerors.

The first large city in the border district of Negroland proper, visited by Dr. Barth, was Kano, with 15,000 inhabitants. He says it made the most cheerful impression upon him, as manifesting everywhere the unmistakable marks of the comfortable, pleasant sort of life led by the natives. Their houses are built of clay and reeds, having little court yards, and shaded with spreading trees; while often they are enlivened with groups of children, goats, fowls, pigeons; and where a little wealth had been accumulated, a horse or pack-ox. All seem bent upon enjoying life; "everybody finds his greatest happiness in a country life, and as soon as he makes a little profit, adds a young wife to comfort and console his elder companion for life." How very kind and considerate these people must be, thus to provide for their aged companions! This is a reason which Brigham Young never gave for multiplying the female part of his household.

Katsena, another city, contained 8,000 inhabitants. This was the old prize, having a circuit of about thirteen miles, and which Barth supposes once contained a hundred thousand people. The province which bears the same name contains about 300,000 people, and embraces not less than 50 towns of 4,000 inhabitants each. But this is one of many provinces, all equally prosperous, which our traveller visited. Their houses are constructed of the same materials, differing only in style and arrangement. In some instances they are rectangular, having large apartments, much like the built houses of Syria and Egypt, or like the adobe houses of the Mexicans; in other instances, they are circular, with pointed roofs. In several places were seen remains of brick buildings, belonging to an earlier period.

Cotton is largely cultivated and manufactured into garments in most parts of this region; so that in all the towns the people are clad. With indigo, also cultivated here, many of their clothes are dyed; indeed, blue and white seem the prevailing colors worn. Sandals and other articles of leather are also common manufactures of the negro population, and are made in such quantities as to be exported to Northern Africa. Besides these manufactures, there is a great variety of other productions which enter into commerce, as gums, fruits, salt, natron, &c. Twenty thousand horse and ox loads of natron pass through the town of Kano annually, and in the caravan with which Dr. Barth came to Kano were 3,000 camel loads of salt.

Some of these great negro cities had regular market days, when the greatest activity prevailed. The animals exposed for sale were camels, horses, sheep, goats, asses and fowls; the chief articles besides these were fruits, rice, butter, milk, honey, millet, grain, cotton shirts, indigo, tamarinds, red peppers, onions, salt, articles of leather, &c. Large numbers of slaves were likewise always offered for sale. The currency is strips of cotton, shirts, and small shells, like the cowries of the coast. Silver and gold are rare as coin, but often form the value by which is known, sometimes find their way there, and are taken by merchants to send back to Tripoli. The chief foreign productions in the market are Manchester prints, beads, trinkets, and paper. The people are generally shrewd, fond of traffic, and if other foreign productions could be introduced from the South, through the Niger and its tributaries, this inland commerce could be greatly increased. With regard to Christianizing Africa, all travellers agree that they must first be civilized; to do which, commerce, aided and encouraged as it was by Livingstone and Barth, with Clapperton, Oldfield and preceding travellers, all agree in this, and show its necessity as well as practicability.

The most serious thing to encounter in Central Africa is the slave trade, with its effects of which are tending to destroy the germs of civilization and the prosperity existing there. This is tending to depopulate the finer portions, and in time most completely annihilate the weaker and defenceless tribes. The magnitude of the great slave trade, and the conditions connected with it, Livingstone and Barth, with Clapperton, Oldfield and preceding travellers, all agree in this, and show its necessity as well as practicability.

The most serious thing to encounter in Central Africa is the slave trade, with its effects of which are tending to destroy the germs of civilization and the prosperity existing there. This is tending to depopulate the finer portions, and in time most completely annihilate the weaker and defenceless tribes. The magnitude of the great slave trade, and the conditions connected with it, remarkable things which Dr. Barth witnessed. He accompanied one led by the Sultan of Bornou, in which he was followed by an army of 10,000 horse and a large number on foot. These men are armed with bows and arrows, lances, clubs and a few muskets. A portion of the horses are beautifully equipped. The following presents a glowing picture of this negro army and the charming country they were pillaging:

"The country through which we passed was most charming, being of a most expansive hound, exactly suited for pastoral tribes, while traces of cultivation and cotton fields were not wanting. The country being open, our army marched in an extended line of battle, separated from each other by a varied description in nature and appearance; the heavy cavalry, clad in thick wadded clothing, others in coats of mail, with their tin helmets glittering in the sun, and mounted on heavy chargers, which also appeared to be protected by the weight of their riders and their warlike accoutrements; the light horsemen clad in a loose shirt, and mounted on weak, unseemly nags; the self-conceited slaves, decked out gaudily in red harnessing and silken dresses of various colors; the Mahomedan spearmen with their large wooden shields; then, in the distance behind, the continuous train of camels and pack-oxen; all the people full of spirits, and in the expectation of rich booty, pressing onward to the unknown region of their future fate.

The result of this foray was the plunder of 10,000 head of cattle and 2,000 slaves. But the devastation of the country and the loss of life, in addition, was terrific. On the approach of this horde of 10,000 people, villages and towns were deserted, the people fleeing to the mountains or concealing themselves in the woods. Their towns were then burned, their property taken and the stores of grain laid up for future use, as well as that growing, were destroyed. Whatever could be plundered, often by cutting off one leg and leaving them to bleed to death. Female slaves and children were most sought after, as a token of their governor priding himself on the extent of his harem. Dr. Barth once met the King of Logirm in procession, having with him a body of forty-five black female partners mounted on horses, all clothed in white harnesses, while his sheiks and vizier had from twelve to sixteen each, also mounted on horseback. The Sultan of Bagirmi, a large city south of Lake Tsad, has from 300 to 400 wives.

One traveller met with another African gentleman, evidently an ethnologist, who had collected a harem of some 400 wives upon "scientific principles." In assembling this immense number of female companions, Dr. Barth, "for the entertainment of his leisure hours, he adopted a scientific principle; it was a sort of ethnological museum, which he had brought together in order to refresh sometimes upon his memory the distinguishing features of each tribe."

When our traveller or others happened to mention the name of any tribe not familiar to the sable Mormon, the avaricious fellow lamented that he had no specimen of it in his harem, and a few days after would only people, procure him a perfect specimen of this missing kind. When Dr. Barth showed him an ethnological book containing portraits of the different females of mankind, and explained the object of the work, the sable man of Africa exclaimed, with some fine old trees in the centre, situated in the very busiest part of the bazaar, was ordered to be closed, and the human merchandise was transferred for sale to the underground apartments of the great Sultan Suleiman's mosque; next, under the pressure of war, the importation of white slaves was positively forbidden; and, finally, the traffic was declared to be abolished by an imperial firman. England and humanity had thus gained a notable victory—upon paper. The practical result of all these measures was that, last summer, the slave-market of Constantinople was so overstocked with white ladies that they had fallen to one-third of their usual price, and were plentiful as blackberries in autumn, were almost as valueless. Never since the massacres of Scio had the faithful been able to stock their establishments on such reasonable terms.

The fact is, the slave trade is at this moment as active as ever in all parts of Turkey, excepting Egypt, and if Egypt must be called Turkey. Its pretended abolition is only one of those paper measures to which, the government has recourse periodically, to satisfy the exigencies of some temporarily English pressure. Everything, of the present fashion, seem to be generally admitted; therefore we shall not insist on them at any length. The plain facts of the case are these. The gown of 1857 is made of the most expensive material obtainable. Ladies in the most distant provinces have adopted it, and there now find that sum insufficient for their gowns alone; and middle-class young ladies, who have hitherto been satisfied with twenty pounds a year, are now driven to their wits' end to keep up with the mode at all: and they have reconrse to cheap showy silks that will not last, and to gauzy materials requiring a style of petticoat which makes the dress a costly one after all. Maid servants, who have before deposited something in Savings Banks every quarter, are now thankful to receive their wages many yards as formerly for their gowns. "It is but nine-pence a yard," the mistress says, when the gown is a print; but the gowns are not all prints; and if all require eight or ten breadths, and a flounce, the expenditure at the end of the year to a girl whose wages are ten or twelve pounds is not small. Even the cheap-print gowns require so much making, and are so troublesome to wash and iron, that the custom is a tyrannous one on those upon whom it weighs least. As for the most numerous order of the times—that of middle-class ladies—this year, 1857, will be a mortifying or disastrous one in the family history of too many households. The cost of dress has become so disproportionate to other items of expenditure as to be a most serious difficulty in the homes of men of business, who have hitherto been able to provide their wives and daughters with whatever was needful to a moderate compaency. The rich silks of the day, under their various names, of which every lady now thinks one at least absolutely necessary, cannot be had for a wife and daughters, with the prodigious trimmings which are equally indispensable, under a less sum than would maintain a country clergyman, or half-pay officer and his family. The superphenalia of ribbons, laces, fringes, and flowers, is more expensive than the entire gown of ten years ago. It is not only the children of the young, the rising, that does not exhibit more than one at a time to the charge of the nurse-maid, for a neighbor's child was actually swept into the water from a bridge by a stiff skirt which went flaunting by—the wearer being unconscious of the mischief. If he walks with his wife, he has to be on his guard at all the time. If the wind blows, he is fettered by her superfluity of garments; and if it rains, no umbrella can cover them both. If the weather is settled fine, the lady's train raises a cloud of dust, and sweeps the path of all loose filth as they go. If they enter the parks, the steel rim of her petticoat cuts his leg as they squeeze through the narrow gate; and if they try the high road, there is too much probability that the whole apparatus may become inverted by a sudden gust catching the balloon. Umbrellas get turned wrong side out; and the existing skirt is much more easy to invent. If it is to be a drive, and not a walk, the good man runs the risk of being dismissed as a haughty actress dismissed an old friend.

vehement prohibitive gesture she drove him back from America-ge-tep, with "Pardon me—I and my dress occupy the carriage." The same woman who in their youth marvelled at the slavery to fashion which had induced their grandmothers to kneel in the carriage for a drive of many miles to save their lofty head-dresses, now demands that the coachman's box, or compel them to walk, to make room for the accommodation of flounces and steel springs.—*Westminster Review.*

THE CHILDREN.

BY MARY HOWITT.

Beautiful the children's faces!
Still their brows are pure and sears;
To my inmost heart speaking;
Calling forth love's tenderest feeling;
Stepping all my soul with tears.

Eloquent the children's faces—
Poverty's lean look, which saith,
Save us! save us! woe surrounds us;
Little hearts are sore confounds us;
Life is but a lingering death.

Give us light amid our darkness;
Let us know the good from ill;
Hate us not for all our sickness;
Love us, lead us, show us kindness—
You can make us what you will.

We are willing; lead us, lead us!
We would learn, if you would teach;
We have hearts that yearn towards duty;
We have minds alive to beauty;
Souls that any height can reach!

Raise us by your Christian knowledge,
Consecrate to man our powers;
Let us have your aspiration;
We, the rising generation,
Let us stamp the age as ours!

We shall be what you will make us;
Make us wise, and make us good;
Make us strong in time of trial;
Teach us temperance, self-denial,
Patience, fortitude, and love.

Look into our childish faces;
See ye not our willing hearts?
Only love us as we love you—
Only let us know you need us,
And we all will do our parts.

We are thousands—many thousands!
Every day our ranks increase;
Let us march beneath your banner,
We the legion of true honor,
Combating for love and peace!

Train us! try us! days slide onward,
They can ne'er be ours again.
Save us, save us! from our undoing!
Save from ignorance and sin!
Make us worthy to be men!

Send us to our weeping mothers,
Angels of joy in heart and home!
We may be our fathers' teachers;
We may be the mightiest preachers,
In the silence of our love!

Such the children's mute appealing;
All my inmost soul was stirred;
And my heart was bowed in sadness,
When a cry, like summer's gladness,
Said, "The children's prayer is heard!"

THE SLAVE TRADE IN TURKEY.

The newspapers gave an account, a few months ago, of the seizure, near Smyrna, of a slave-ship, and the liberation of the slaves it contained—one of those fierce acts of virtue which from time to time, to the delight of their western admirers, and amuse, or rather abuse, the European public. ' No one, not even their bitterest enemies, can refuse them credit for the perfection to which they carry the art of throwing dust in the eyes of their too lover-like protectors; nor is their merit in that branch of business can be accounted for by the consideration that it is the only art they deign to cultivate. Like the dungeon man of one book, they are masters in their one art. It is the absolute necessity of their civilization, indeed, by way of expressing their regard for public opinion. To seem and not to be, is the problem which has been so successfully worked by the Sublime Porte for the last century and a half, especially for the last half-century.

England and Europe, unbiassed—that is, only people who exercise a disinterested philanthropy in looking after the domestic concerns of the Turks—have laboured for the last twenty years to persuade the sultan to abolish, in all its branches, the slave trade in Circassian girls. It is instructive to mark the progressive steps by which the power of the charmer's voice has been made evident. First, the fair daughters of Circassia were ordered to be kept for sale henceforward only in private houses; then the slave-market, a large airy court surrounded by small rooms, and with some fine old trees in the centre, situated in the very busiest part of the bazaar, was ordered to be closed, and the human merchandise was transferred for sale to unwholesome underground vaults near the great Suleiman's mosque; next, under the pressure of war, the importation of white slaves was positively forbidden; and, finally, the traffic was declared to be abolished by an imperial firman. England and humanity had thus gained a notable victory—upon paper. The practical result of all these measures was that, last summer, the slave-market of Constantinople was so overstocked with white ladies that they had fallen to one-third of their usual price, and were plentiful as blackberries in autumn, were almost as valueless. Never since the massacres of Scio had the faithful been able to stock their establishments on such reasonable terms.

The fact is, the slave trade is at this moment as active as ever in all parts of Turkey, excepting Egypt, and if Egypt must be called Turkey. Its pretended abolition is only one of those paper measures to which, the government has recourse periodically, to satisfy the exigencies of some temporarily English pressure. Everything, of the present fashion, seem to be generally admitted; therefore we shall not insist on them at any length. The plain facts of the case are these. The gown of 1857 is made of the most expensive material obtainable. Ladies in the most distant provinces have adopted it, and there now find that sum insufficient for their gowns alone; and middle-class young ladies, who have hitherto been satisfied with twenty pounds a year, are now driven to their wits' end to keep up with the mode at all: and they have reconrse to cheap showy silks that will not last, and to gauzy materials requiring a style of petticoat which makes the dress a costly one after all. Maid servants, who have before deposited something in Savings Banks every quarter, are now thankful to receive their wages many yards as formerly for their gowns. "It is but nine-pence a yard," the mistress says, when the gown is a print; but the gowns are not all prints; and if all require eight or ten breadths, and a flounce, the expenditure at the end of the year to a girl whose wages are ten or twelve pounds is not small. Even the cheap-print gowns require so much making, and are so troublesome to wash and iron, that the custom is a tyrannous one on those upon whom it weighs least. As for the most numerous order of the times—that of middle-class ladies—this year, 1857, will be a mortifying or disastrous one in the family history of too many households. The cost of dress has become so disproportionate to other items of expenditure as to be a most serious difficulty in the homes of men of business, who have hitherto been able to provide their wives and daughters with whatever was needful to a moderate compaency. The rich silks of the day, under their various names, of which every lady now thinks one at least absolutely necessary, cannot be had for a wife and daughters, with the prodigious trimmings which are equally indispensable, under a less sum than would maintain a country clergyman, or half-pay officer and his family. The superphenalia of ribbons, laces, fringes, and flowers, is more expensive than the entire gown of ten years ago. It is not only the children of the young, the rising, that does not exhibit more than one at a time to the charge of the nurse-maid, for a neighbor's child was actually swept into the water from a bridge by a stiff skirt which went flaunting by—the wearer being unconscious of the mischief. If he walks with his wife, he has to be on his guard at all the time. If the wind blows, he is fettered by her superfluity of garments; and if it rains, no umbrella can cover them both. If the weather is settled fine, the lady's train raises a cloud of dust, and sweeps the path of all loose filth as they go. If they enter the parks, the steel rim of her petticoat cuts his leg as they squeeze through the narrow gate; and if they try the high road, there is too much probability that the whole apparatus may become inverted by a sudden gust catching the balloon. Umbrellas get turned wrong side out; and the existing skirt is much more easy to invent. If it is to be a drive, and not a walk, the good man runs the risk of being dismissed as a haughty actress dismissed an old friend.

Reared in domesticity, with no stimulus to industry, eating and sleeping without a thought of the morrow, the majority of the slaves are incapable of thinking or caring for themselves. They are, therefore, in the greatest punishment that can be inflicted upon them. One of our friends in Cairo had long suffered in patience, or in silence, the whims and insolence of his wife's neutral attendant. At last, when his conduct became unbearable, neither authoritative remonstrance nor gentle hints being terminated to punish him. He did not sell him—he gave him his freedom. The poor useless wretch, when days went by, and he was not, as he supposed he must be, recalled to the house where he had so long been a resident, and going round to all his master's friends, besought their intercession for his restoration.

As a general rule, slaves are treated by their masters hardly indeed as reasoning beings, but with great kindness. As children, they may be whipped; but only children men return to the barbarian when they grow up. In fact, their masters are too completely in their power to venture to exasperate them by harshness. In the last two years we have known two men, one the governor of a town in Asia Minor, the other a wealthy merchant, murdered for their brutality by their own slaves. It was from two of his white slaves that Abbas Pacha received at last the wages of his misdeeds.

The female slaves, in the seclusion to which they are condemned, suffer perhaps more than the men. They are exposed to the caprices of their mistress, the jealousy of rival favorites, and the ill-humor of their guardians often falls heavily upon them. We remember seeing, a few years ago, in Damascus, one of the black keepers of the sultan's harem, who, before there in only grief the rank of pacha, having fallen into disgrace for a manual correction administered to one of the reigning favorites, who had found means to persuade the sultan that it had been undeserved. On the other hand, no slave who has been given by her master in marriage, or sold; her children, whatever their color, are regarded as legitimate, and come in for an equal share of their father's inheritance. If dissatisfied with their master, slaves of whatever color or sex can claim him, or rather have a legal right to oblige him, to sell them. Of course such a right can rarely be enforced. We know that with all this kindness there may coexist a large amount of tyranny and brutality, and in a large establishment there may be no small sum of suffering. We have known cases which appear before the cadi to claim the right of being sold, but we have never known a case where such an appeal was successful.

It is not, however, so much the condition of the slaves in their master's house which seems to warrant the interference of Europe as the dreadful sufferings they are exposed to before reaching the market. The white slaves, at least the females, are exempt from these, and, since the Circassians choose to traffic in their own flesh and blood, and the Turks to violate the prescriptions of their religion, which forbids the purchase of Musulmans, we need not perhaps insist upon a reform which Russia will sooner or later effect. But for the black slaves, we have a right to interest ourselves. Torn from their native living victims, they are subjected to sufferings even more horrible than those disclosed recently by the capture of a slave-ship off Jamaica.

The Egyptian frontiers are closed to this traffic, and Constantinople depends for its supply upon Tripoli. The slaves thence procured are brought from the interior of Africa, a distance of 1,000 or 1,500 miles, sometimes from even more distant countries. They are the victims of the wars carried on by the chieftains of the black states nearest to Europe, and are sold to the Arab traders, whom they sell to dealers from the Turkish territories. Murder stains this foul speculation in the first instance, and yet this is the least of the horrors which disgrace it. The slaves are driven on foot the entire journey, and their purchasers through sands hot as a furnace in the daytime, and cold as ice at night. Men and women, boys and girls, without clothes to cover them, or shoes to protect their feet, journey on for weeks, sometimes for months, supplied only with a little food, and that scanty, to avoid off death, and often suffering horribly from thirst in a region where wells are rare, and the heat of the sun often dries up or corrupts the contents of the water-skin. On one route which we have followed there in a distance of twelve days from one well to the next, hundreds of victims annually whiten the desert with their bones. If only half arrive, the profit is still so enormous that the loss seems trifling to the hardened wretches in whose eyes a slave is but a beast of burden. The survivors who reach Tripoli or Bengazi are carefully fed, that they may recover flesh, but they are still left in their almost primitive nakedness, shivering from the cold of a climate to which they are unaccustomed, in tropics that the buyer may see that they are sound, and not the victims of disease imported. The Turks prefer slaves who have as yet received no instruction. The slave trade is the principal branch of commerce in Tripoli, and up to the present time it has been carried on with impunity, and in every possible way, even to the loss of more legitimate profit. The number of slaves exported from Tripoli in 1854 was three times larger than under the independent days twenty years previously, and a year ago, after the publication of the firman forbidding the trade, we had numerous offers to speak with a merchant whose house is on the south-west frontier of Tripoli, and who trades to Timbuctoo. "What will become of your trade now, if this firman is carried out?" was the question we asked. "It would be time enough to answer you," he said, "when the firman is acted upon; but in those countries there is no want of objects of traffic. Slaves are at present the most profitable; but when these will no longer pay, there remains gold dust, ivory, ostrich feathers, and many other commodities. The people of the inner country cannot do without the articles we carry to them, and they will soon find wherewithal to purchase them. God is generous." He seems little disposed to look on the suppression of the trade; but whether from a conviction that it could not really intended, or from the confidence that other profitable investments would be found, we do not pretend to say. The goods exchanged for slaves are coarse cottons, beads, and small articles of trade. It will be impossible to abolish the trade in men, with all its attendant horrors, so long as slavery is permitted to exist in any shape in Turkey. Only its final abolition can put a stop to importations which the authorities both in Tripoli and Constantinople are at present encouraging. Even the sultan's ships-of-war are used for the conveyance of slaves.

We can understand the desperate efforts made by the Turk to maintain this institution; but we profess ourselves unable to understand or to forgive the inkewarm-ness of the Mahomedans of his European supporters. The very argument which indnces the Turk to make the attempt is the strongest that can be urged in its favor. The abolition of slavery would effect a radical change in Turkish society; and if we demand it on no other grounds, we should call for it on those of self-interest. They has become a European state, it can be permitted to take part in the congress of Christian nations only on the condition of remodelling, not the government alone, but still more the whole social system of the subject. It is vain to hope for any real amelioration in these till slavery be abolished in every corner of the empire.

But if slavery be an essential institution of Islam, then we are bound to hunt the professors of such a creed out of Europe. Humanity has a right to be intolerant of a standing offence against its laws. If they ale proclaim a crusade in their vindication, freemen of all nations and of all creeds will acknowledge that her object is holy. But this is not the case. Islam found slavery established, and has protected it. Even in Tunis, slavery has for many years been entirely done away with. The Bey became able argument, by the way, in favor of the independence of the bey, whom our English policy seems inclined to reduce to his long forgotten subjection to Turkey. If, on the part of the Mahomedan governments, the desire to abolish slavery were sincere, and not a mere pretence to blind the people of Europe to the real natnre of their rule, it would not be difficult to bring it about. The first step necessary is to cut off the supply. To effect this, a couple of steamers cruising off the coast of Tripoli would be more stringent orders issued to the English consul, would be sufficient; and the waters of the Mediterranean would no longer be stained by this traffic. The traditions of Islam itself would be found to be supporting domestic slavery; for the Arabian prophet teaches that the granting his freedom to a slave is a meritorious work in the eyes of God; he even enjoins it as a propitiatory sacrifice on certain occasions. In the opinions of all pious Musulmans, it is not lawful to keep in slavery a slave who has embraced Islam in servitude more than a short number of years. It would therefore be enough to forbid the sale of slaves from this time forwards, either publicly or privately, and to declare free all slaves of slaves whatever after the lapse of a brief term. This would lead to their speedy emancipation; for their masters would no longer rather free them at once of their own accord than allow them to acquire their liberty as a right. Of course the law prohibiting the sale of slaves must be accompanied by the fixing of express punishments for its transgression; its mere publication and communication to the European ambassadors would give it no efficacy.

The Turks are too thoughtless to consider the sufferings of the poor slaves before they reach their hands; they only remember that they were idolaters, and that they have made them Musulmans. They are persuaded that God has put them into their power that they may lead them to paradise, and they are satisfied with this. There is every excuse to be made for these Turks, who seek to evade a change which would revolutionize their habits of life, and whose necessity as a matter of humanity they cannot appreciate. But the Ottomans of South America, during the periods of floods, subsist entirely on a fat and oily root, the yuca, which each man eats daily a pound or more. Sir Robert Martnie declare that the Indians of the Orinoco, who live almost entirely on the same root, are as fine men as he ever saw. says the Peruvians frequently eat a sweet potato raw. Humboldt and Ehrenberg has analyzed the edible clay sold in the market of Bolivia, which he find to be a mixture of silex and alumine. The inhabitants of Guiana mingle clay to their bread, and the people of Jamaica are said to eat earth when other food is deficient. According to Labillardiere, the inhabitants of New Caledonia appease the pangs of hunger with a white friable earth, said by the natives to be composed of human remains, silica, oxide of iron, and alumine. To conclude this list we may mention that the people of Kamschatka, as countries of clay-eaters. Siberia, on a staggering accumulation of assertions which we cannot dismiss altogether, even if we suppose a large amount of them to be mere gratuitous fabrications. In some of these kinds of earth are really nutritious, and the fact is deserving escape such a conclusion), we are completely at a loss to find an adequate explanation of it. Little can be explained it by the craving of appetite, probable enough, that the earth should contain organic matter; because in that case such earth could scarcely be contained sufficient nutritive matter to supply the demands of an adult. We must get rid of the difficulty to say that the earth only appears to contain organic matter, and that in reality it is only the first place, Humboldt's testimony in the system; because it subsisted on clay at periods when other food is deficient, and, in the second place, although the quantity of organic hunger may be appeased by introducing substances of a purely inorganic nature, the more imperious appetite of hunger is not thus to be appeased. We must, therefore, for the present be content at present with accepting the fact which science of a future day may possibly explain.—*Blackwood.*

MR. CHARLES DICKENS.—On Thursday night Charles Dickens read the "Cricket on the Hearth" in the presence of the largest audience that ever filled Murtin's Hall. It was not only, we believe, the first time that he has read this particular book to a public audience, but it was the first occasion on which he gave a public reading in connection with some charitable object, and for his peculiar benefit and advantage. As soon, therefore as the prolonged cheering which greeted his entrance had subsided, he explained his object and intention in the following prefatory remarks:

"Ladies and Gentlemen: It may perhaps be known to you that for many years past, I have been accustomed occasionally to read some of my shorter books to various audiences, in aid of a variety of good objects, and at one charge to myself both in time and money. My occasions have length become impossible in any reason to comply with the numerous claims of the latter kind which are made relatively to choose between now and then every week on account, as one of my recognized occupations, or reading at all. I have had little or no difficulty in deciding on this former course. The reasons that have led me to—besides the consideration that it necessitates departure whatever from the charge—are three-fold. Firstly, I have satisfied myself that I can involve no possible compromise of the credit and independence of literature. Secondly, I have long held the opinion, and have acted on the opinion, that these times whatever brings a public man face to face, on terms of mutual confidence and respect, a good thing. Thirdly, I have had a pretty large experience that the interest my hearers are so generous as to take in these occasions is greatly increased by the delight they give me, as a tried means of strengthening those relations may almost say of personal friendship, which it is great privilege and pride, as it is my great responsibility to cherish. The multitude of persons who will never hear my voice, or see my face, I come, naturally, to be here among you, at this time. I consider it is that I proceed to read this little book, quite as ex possibly as I might proceed to write it, or to publish it any other way."

AN EXECUTIONER'S LITTLE BILL.

The following notice of the doings of the hands of justice, in a neighboring country, in the year 1712, may be of much use to some kingdoms, and might help it to calculated to make one rather contented than otherwise with the state of Europe in 1858. In the year 1712, it was the custom in Amsterdam to make use of the services of an executioner from the neighboring town of Haarlem; and in order to avoid the expense of their journeys, the worthy magistrates contrived that the various sentences of the criminal law should be carried out as much as possible on the same day. The following is the little bill of the Haarlem Calcraft for the year 1712, which we have copied:

AMSTERDAM, Dec. 31st 1712.

To account for business done.

	Florins
To one beheaded	6
To one burnt out of the sword of justice	12
Item for the cloth	3
Item for the coffin	3
To one strangled	6
Taken down and put into the coffin	3
To one put on the wheel, with nine strokes, at 3 gulden	
each stroke	27
For the strangling	6
Taken down and carried out of the town	3
To two hanged with a sword over their heads	18
One taken down, and carried out of the town	6
To a child drowned	3
To four hung on the gallows, at 6 gulden apiece	24
One with a sword over the head	3
Two taken down	12
To four-and-twenty scourged, at 3 gulden apiece	72
Three with the sword over their heads	9
One tortured, and set in the pillory	6
One branded on the back	3
Item wages	12
Item road-money	6
Item for the use of the rope	12
Item for the assistant	12
Amount	276

All this, we repeat, was the work of a single day, and it came off in the public square before the town-house of Amsterdam. The account seems to have suggested to the citizens of the time merely that the hangman-business was a thriving one (dat zulk eene executie eene goede inkoming zyt). To us in our day and generation, it is an interesting document, as a fragment, and a genuine one, of the history of those days which people in Holland and Germany, and some other parts of the world too, are wont to call the "good old times."—*Chambers's Journal.*

FIRST MEETING OF DICKENS AND THACKERAY.

The inauguration of the annual exhibition of pictures and sculpture, at the Royal Academy of England, was celebrated on the first of May by the usual anniversary festival. Sir Richard Bethell, the President, gave, as the last toast, the health of Messrs. Dickens and Thackeray, who responded as follow:

MR. DICKENS.—"Following the order of your toast, I have to take the first part in the duet to be performed in acknowledgment of the compliment you have paid to literature. It is his happy fate to feel it to be too much an interchange of compliments, as it were, between near relations to enter into any lengthened expression of our thanks for the honor you have done us. I feel that it would be changing this splendid assembly into a sort of family party to laugh; and, therefore, take leave to say that your sister, whom I represent, is in very good healthy [a laugh]; she has a great affection for and an abiding interest in you; and it is always a great gratification to her to see herself so well remembered within these walls, and to know that she is honored guest at your hospitable board [cheers and laughter].

MR. THACKERAY.—"My Lords, Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen, permit me to say that had it not been for the direct act of my friend who has sat down, I should most likely never have been included in the toast which you have been pleased to drink; and I should have risen to be, not a writer, but a painter, or designer of pictures. That was the object of my early ambition, and I can remember, when Mr. Dickens was a very young man, and had commenced delighting the world, he became charming humorous works of which I cannot mention a few [laughter], but which were colored light green, and came out once a month [a laugh], that this young man wanted an artist to illustrate his writings, and I recollect walking up to his chambers with a few sketches in my pocket in my hand, which, strange to say, he did not find suited [laughter]. But for that unfortunate blight which came upon my artistical existence, it would have been my pride and my pleasure to be one day to find a place on these walls for one of my performances. This disappointment caused me to direct my attention to a different walk of art, and now I can only hope to be translated to these walls, as I have been, thanks to my talented friend, Mr. Leslie, [laughter] and, however, ever think with pride and pleasure of my name having been mentioned from that chair, always connecting it with the person who first sat in it. You, sir, know very well, as the cause, and others are all aware that the knight of Plympton has not left the height of Plymouth behind him [cheers]. Sir Joshua Reynolds was one of the most delightful of men, and to have been personally known to him is one of the greatest gratifications I could experience [hear, hear].

My profession have long been connected with painters. I myself have had the happiness to number several of the dearest friends of my life. You, yourself, sir, have sanctioned that Goldsmith always attended these anniversaries; and I understand that Johnson, too, was present in the very last year of his life. Despite the shortness of his breath, he delighted to walk up the long stairs of the Royal Academy, and sit